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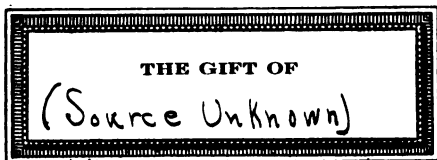
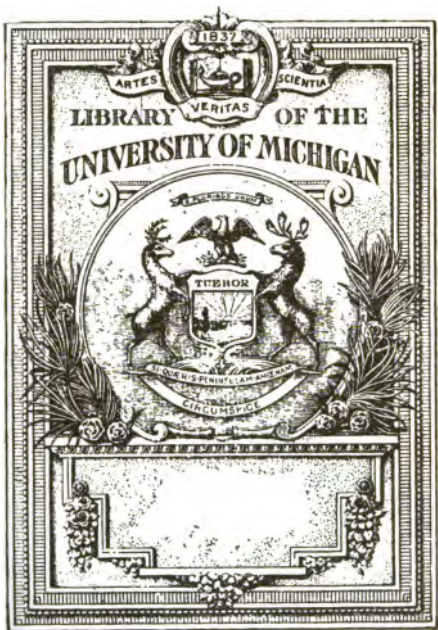
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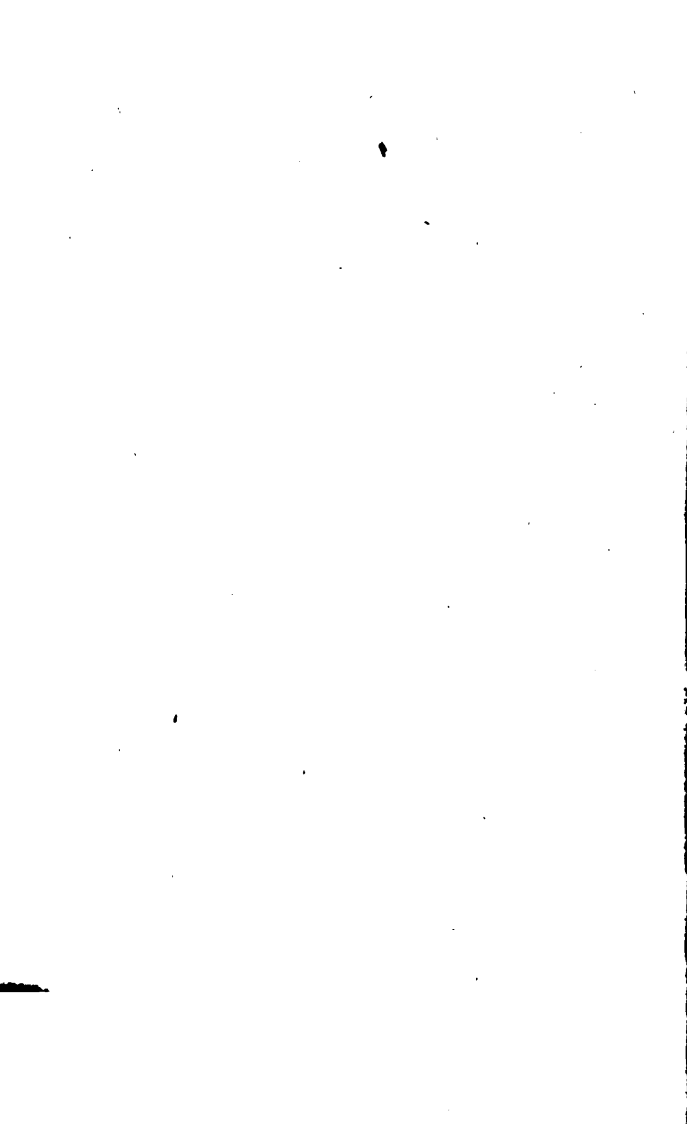
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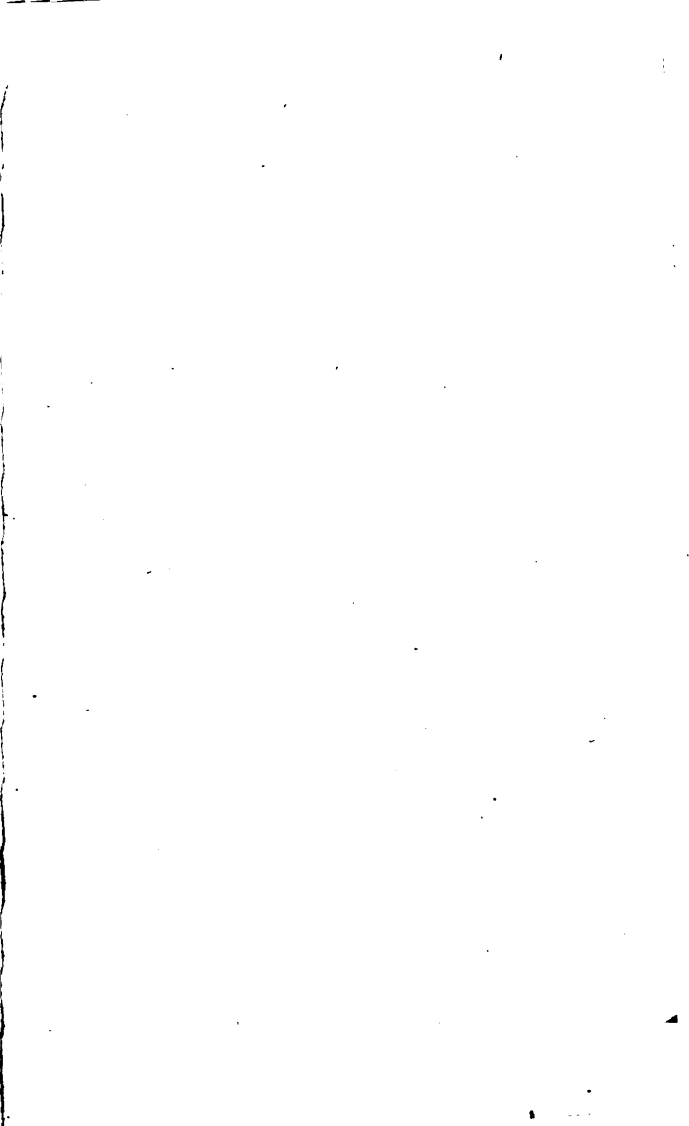
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THE  
HISTORY OF THE JEWS,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

BY REV. H. H. MILMAN,

PREBENDARY OF ST. PETER'S, AND MINISTER OF ST. MARGA-  
RET'S, WESTMINSTER; AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF  
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# HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

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## BOOK IX

### THE HIGH-PRIESTS.

*The Captivity—The Return to the Holy Land—Rebuilding of the Temple—The Samaritans—Esther—Ezra—Nehemiah—Simon the Just—Alexandrian Jews—Persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes*

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B. C. 584.

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Nothing could present a more striking contrast to their native country than the region into which the Hebrews were transplanted. Instead of their irregular and picturesque mountain city, crowning its unequal heights, and looking down into its deep and precipitous ravines, through one of which a scanty stream wound along; they entered the vast, square, and level city of Babylon, occupying both sides of the broad Euphrates; while all around spread immense plains, which were intersected by long straight canals, bordered by rows of willows. How unlike their national temple—a small but highly finished and richly adorned fabric, standing in the midst of its courts on the brow of a lofty precipice—the colossal temple of the Chaldean Bel, rising from the plain with its eight stupendous stories or towers, one above the other, to the perpendicular height of a furlong! The palace of the Babylonian kings was more than twice the size of their whole city: it covered eight miles, with its hanging gardens built on arched terraces, each

rising above the other, and rich in all the luxuriance of artificial cultivation. How different from the sunny cliffs of their own land, where the olive and the vine grew spontaneously, and the cool, shady and secluded valleys, where they could always find shelter from the heat of the burning noon! No wonder then that in the pathetic words of their own hymn, *by the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept, when they remembered thee, O Sion.* Of their general treatment as captives we know little. The psalm above quoted seems to intimate that the Babylonians had taste enough to appreciate their poetical and musical talent, and that they were summoned occasionally to amuse the banquets of their masters, though it was much against their will that they sung the songs of Zion in a strange land. In general it seems that the Jewish exiles were allowed to dwell together in considerable bodies, not sold as household or personal slaves, at least not those of the better order, of whom the captivity chiefly consisted. They were colonists rather than captives, and became by degrees possessed of considerable property. There was one large settlement on the river Chebar, considerably to the north of Babylon. It was there that the prophet Ezekiel related his splendid visions, which seemed impressed with the immense and gigantic character of the region and empire of Babylon. To the bold and rapid creations of the earlier Hebrew poets, Ezekiel adds not merely a vehement and tragical force, peculiar to his own mind, but a vastness and magnificence of imagery, drawn from the scenery and circumstances by which he was surrounded. The world of Ezekiel, and that of his cotemporary, Daniel, seems enlarged: the future teems with imperial dynasties and wide and universal monarchies. It is curious that the earliest monuments of Persian antiquity, in Persepolis and its neighbourhood, abound with sculptures representing those symbolic and composite



animals, which occur so frequently in the visions of these two prophets, especially Daniel. Daniel had been among those noble youths transported to Babylon at the first invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, most likely as hostages for the good conduct and submission of the vassal king. These young men were treated with great kindness, educated with the utmost care, both in the manners and duties of the great officers of the Assyrian court; and in all the half-scientific, half-superstitious knowledge, the astronomy, the divination, and skill in the interpretation of dreams, for which the priesthood of the Chaldeans long maintained unrivalled celebrity. Daniel received the name of Belteshazzar; his chief companions, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah, those of Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego.

If the eminence to which Daniel attained in the favour of successive monarchs, inspired the captive Jews with confidence that divine Providence still watched over the chosen people, his example contributed no less to confirm them in their adherence to the law and the religion of their ancestors. These youthful hostages were to be sumptuously maintained at the public charge; but Daniel and his companions, apprehensive of legal defilement, insisted on being supported on the meanest and simplest food, common pulse. On this coarse and ascetic diet, perhaps that of the Hebrew prophets, they thrived, and became so well favoured as to do no discredit to the royal entertainment. When Nebuchadnezzar raised his golden image on the plain of Dura, which all men were to worship, the companions of Daniel, resisting the act of idolatry, were thrown into the fiery furnace, from whence they were miraculously delivered. Under a later monarch, who forbade any prayer to be offered, for thirty days, but to himself, Daniel, with the same boldness, refusing to suspend his petitions to the Almighty, was cast into the den of lions whose mouths were closed

against the man of God. But it was chiefly like his predecessor Joseph, as interpreter of dreams, that Daniel acquired his high distinction. Twice he was summoned to this important office by Nebuchadnezzar; once when the unconscionable demand was made of the national interpreters, that they should expound a vision of which they did not know the substance: once when the haughty monarch was warned of a dreadful malady (some kind of madness), by which his pride was to be humbled, when he should be expelled from human society, and eat grass like a beast of the field. On both occasions the Hebrew interpreter was equally successful. In the same manner he was called upon to expound the fatal handwriting on the wall of Belshazzar, on that memorable night when the human hand, during the sumptuous banquet, wrote upon the wall the mysterious words, MENE. MENE. TEKEL. UPHARSIN, interpreted by Daniel that the kingdom was *numbered* and finished—Belshazzar *weighed* in the balance and found wanting—his kingdom taken away, and given to the Medes and *Persians*.

Like Joseph, Daniel became one of the viziers or satraps of the mighty empire, when it passed into the hands of the Medes and Persians. Nor was this rapid advancement of their countrymen—though the manner in which Daniel is frequently named by his cotemporary Ezekiel, shows the pride and reverence with which the whole nation looked up to their distinguished compatriot—the only ground of hope and consolation to the scattered exiles. Beyond the gloomy waste of the captivity, their prophets had always opened a vista of long ages of more than their former happiness and glory; but to which, their restoration to their own rich and pleasant land was the first and preparatory promise. Jeremiah had limited the duration of the captivity to seventy years: he had evinced his confidence

in the certainty of his own predictions by one of the most remarkable examples of teaching by significant action, so common among the Hebrew prophets. In the time of the greatest peril he had purchased an estate at Anathoth, and concealed the title-deeds with the greatest care, in order that they might come to light, for the benefit of his posterity, after the restoration of the Hebrew polity; in which event he thus showed his own implicit reliance. When therefore they saw the storm bursting upon the haughty and oppressive Babylon—when the vast plains of Shinaar glittered with the hosts of the Medes and Persians; and Cyrus, the designated deliverer, appeared at their head; amid the wild tumults of the war, and the shrieks and lamentations of the captured city, the Jews, no doubt, were chanting, at least murmuring in secret, the prophetic strains of Isaiah or Jeremiah, which described the fall of the son of the morning, the virgin daughter of Babylon sitting in the dust, the ceasing of the oppressor, the ruin of the golden city.

It is not necessary in relating this part of the Jewish history, to plunge into the intricate and inextricable labyrinth of Assyrian history and chronology. It is unimportant whether we suppose, with Prideaux and most of the earlier writers, that the fatal night which terminated the life of Belshazzar, witnessed the fall of Babylon, and that Darius the Mede was Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus: or, with Larcher, and others, that Belshazzar was overthrown, and put to death, by a conspiracy within the city, headed by Darius, a man of Median extraction; and that from this Darius opens a new dynasty of Babylonian kings, which ended in the Persian conquest by Cyrus.

At all events, the close of the seventy years' captivity found Cyrus the undisputed monarch of all the territories, or rather of a more extensive and powerful empire, than that of Assyria; and Daniel

appears as high in the confidence of this wise and powerful monarch, as he had been in that of his predecessor Darius. For Darius knew too well the value of his wise and useful minister not to rejoice at his providential delivery from the den of lions; where, through the intrigues of his enemies, and the unalterable nature of the Median law, he had with reluctance condemned him. His providential deliverance had invested Daniel in new dignity, and he reassumed his station among the pashas, or rather as the supreme head of the pashas, to whom the provinces of the vast Persian empire were committed. Josephus attributes to Daniel, besides his religious and political wisdom, great skill in architecture, and ascribes to him the building of the great Mausoleum at Ecbatana, or according to Jerom, at Susa, where the kings of Persia, and even the later Parthian kings, were interred.

The national spirit was not extinguished in the heart of Daniel by all these honours; no doubt through his influence, Cyrus issued out the welcome edict commanding the restoration of the exiled Hebrews to their native land; perhaps the framing of the edict, in which the unity of the Godhead was recognised, may be referred to the Jewish minister, though it is by no means improbable that, at this period, the Persians were pure Theists.

The numbers which assembled under Zerubbabel, (Shesh-bazzar,) the descendant of their kings, the grandson of Jeconiah; and Jeshua, the hereditary high priest, were 42,360: four out of the twenty-four courses of priests joined the returning exiles. The joyful caravan set forth, bearing the remaining sacred vessels of the temple which Cyrus had restored. The rest of their equipage is characteristically described as comprising *servants and maids, singing men and singing women, horses, mules, camels, and asses*. On their arrival in their native land, they were probably joined by great numbers of the com-

mon people. These, in some degree, made up for the loss of those recreants, who did not choose to abandon their dwellings and possessions in Babylonia. The first object was to restore the worship of God; the altar was set up, the feasts re-established, and the first stone of the new temple laid among the joyful acclamations of the multitude, but the tears of the *ancient men that had seen the first house, who, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice.* For how different was the condition of the Hebrew people, from that splendid period, when their kings ruled without rival from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. The ports of the Red Sea did not now pour the treasures of India and Africa into their dominions; the great caravans passed far beyond their borders. The mercantile Tyrians were, as before, glad to exchange their timbers and stone and artisans for the corn, wine, and oil of Palestine; but still the change from the magnificent intercourse between Hiram and Solomon, was abasing to the pride of Judæa. The 61,000 drams of gold, contributed by the heads of the captivity, are supposed to be Darics, which Prideaux calculates at something more than an English guinea; these with 5000 pounds of silver, though a liberal sum in their present state, might raise a melancholy remembrance of the incalculable treasures which sheeted the former temple with gold. Nor would the royal order for assistance, contained in the edict of Cyrus, in any degree replace the unbounded treasures accumulated by David and his son. The religious Jews deplored the still more important deficiencies of the new temple. The Ark the prophetic Urim and Thummim, the Shechinah or divine presence, the celestial fire on the altar, and the spirit of prophecy, though the last gift still lingered on the lips of Haggai and Zechariah, till it expired at a later period on those of Malachi. The temple was built, probably, on the old foundations,

but unexpected difficulties impeded its progress. The people called the Samaritans made overtures to assist in the great national work; their proposal was peremptorily and contemptuously rejected.

While the Hebrew writers unanimously represent the Samaritans as the descendants of the Cuthæan colonists introduced by Esarhaddon, a foreign and idolatrous race, their own traditions derive their regular lineage from Ephraim and Manasseh, the sons of Joseph. The remarkable fact, that this people have preserved the book of the Mosaic law in the ruder and more ancient character, while the Jews, after the return from Babylonia, universally adopted the more elegant Chaldean form of letters, strongly confirms the opinion, that, although by no means pure and unmingled, the Hebrew blood still predominated in their race. In many other respects, regard for the sabbath and even of the sabbatic year, and the payment of tithes to their priests, the Samaritans did not fall below their Jewish rivals in attachment to the Mosaic polity. The later events in the history of the kings of Jerusalem, show that the expatriation of the ten tribes, was by no means complete and permanent; is it then an unreasonable supposition that the foreign colonists were lost in the remnant of the Israelitish people? and though, perhaps slowly and imperfectly weaned from their native superstitions, fell by degrees into the habits and belief of their adopted country. Their proposition of uniting in common worship with the Jews, which there seems no reason to suspect of insincerity; as at the same time, according to the account in Ezra, they seem to have acknowledged their impure descent, clearly evinces the prevalence of Israelitish feelings and opinions, over those of strangers and aliens from the blood of Abraham and the Mosaic constitution. It is remarkable that when the Samaritans are first named, they are called *the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin*; an expression which seems

to intimate some remains of the hostility towards the rival kingdom of Israel, and the hated race of Ephraim; against whom they were glad to have the additional charge of the contamination of their blood by foreign admixture. But whether or not it was but the perpetuation of the ancient feud between the two rival kingdoms; from this period the hostility of the Jews and Samaritans assumed its character of fierce and implacable animosity. No two nations ever hated each other with more unmitigated bitterness. With a Jew, every Samaritan was a Cuthæan; and a Cuthæan was a term expressive of the utmost scorn and detestation. Every thing a Samaritan ate or drank, or even touched, was as swine's flesh; no Samaritan might be made a proselyte; no Samaritan could possibly attain to everlasting life.

The jealous and exclusive spirit, which induced the Jews to suspect, or at all events to repel the advances of their neighbours, if not their kindred, is scarcely reconcilable with the mild and liberal rules of conduct towards the stranger resident in the land (from which the proscribed race of Canaan were alone exempted), contained in the Mosaic law, as well as in the prayer of Solomon on the dedication of his first temple. Yet this was but one indication of that singular alteration in the national character of the Jews, which displayed itself after their return from the captivity. Prone before, on every occasion, to adopt the idolatrous practices of the adjacent nations, they now secluded themselves from the rest of the world in proud assurance of their own religious superiority. The law, which of old was perpetually violated, or almost forgotten, was now enforced by general consent to its extreme point or even beyond it. Adversity endeared that, of which in prosperity they had not perceived the value. Their city, their native soil, their religion became the objects of the most passionate attachment. Intermarriages with foreigners, neither for-

bidden by the statute, nor by former practice, were strictly inhibited. The observance of the sabbath, and even of the sabbatical year, was enforced with rigour, of which we have no precedent in the earlier annals; even to the neglect of defence in time of war. In short, from this period commences that unsocial spirit, that hatred towards mankind, and want of humanity to all but their own kindred, with which, notwithstanding the extent to which they carried proselytism to their religion, the Jews are branded by all the Roman writers. Their opinions underwent a change no less important; the hope of a Messiah, which had before prevailed but vaguely and indistinctly, had been enlarged and arrayed in the most splendid images by Isaiah, previous to the fall of the city; it was propagated, and even the time of his appearance declared, by the prophets of the exiles, Ezekiel and Daniel; it sunk deep into the popular mind, and contributed, no doubt, to knit the undissoluble tie of brotherhood, by which the Hebrew people were held together more closely. National pride and patriotism appropriated not merely the lofty privilege of being the ancestors of the great deliverer, but all the advantages and glory, which were to attend his coming. In whatever form or character they expected him to appear, king, conqueror, or even God, in this the Jewish race agreed, that the Messiah was to be the king, the conqueror, the God of Israel.

From this period likewise, the immortality of the soul, and the belief in another life, appear more distinctly in the popular creed, from which they were never perhaps entirely effaced, but rested only on vague tradition, and were obscured by the more immediate hopes and apprehensions of temporal rewards and punishments, revealed in the law. But in the writings of the Babylonian prophets, in the vision of dry bones in Ezekiel, and the last chapter of Daniel, these doctrines assume a more important



place; and from the later books, which are usually called the Apocrypha, these opinions appear to have entered fully into the general belief. They formed, as is well known, the distinction between the Pharisaic sect, the great body of the people; and the Sadducees, the higher order of freethinkers. In other respects, particularly in their notions of angels, who now appear under particular names, and forming a sort of hierarchy, Jewish opinions acquired a new and peculiar colouring from their intercourse with the Babylonians.

The Samaritan influence at the court of Persia, prevented the advancement of the building, during the rest of the reign of Cyrus; as well as that of Cambyses, and Smerdis the Magian, up to the second year of Darius Hystaspes. Josephus places with apparent probability, under the reign of Cambyses, a formal representation made by the heads of the Samaritans, of the danger which would arise from permitting "the bad and rebellious city to be rebuilt." The views of Cambyses on Egypt, would give weight to this remonstrance; as, at this juncture, it was manifestly dangerous to permit a strong and mutinous city, to be built directly on the road of communication between his line of military operation, and his native dominions.

On the accession of Darius Hystaspes, the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, strongly urged on Zerubbabel, the Chieftain of the people, to renew the work. The Persian pashas of the province, Tatnai, and Shethar-boznai, sent to the sovereign for instructions. Darius commanded the archives to be searched, in which the original edict of Cyrus was found. Darius, who, in all respects pursued the policy of the great founder of the monarchy, reissued, and confirmed the decree. Under the protection of the Persian governors, the Jews pressed forward the work, and in the sixth year of Darius, the second temple, built on the old foundations, but

of far less costly and splendid materials, was finally completed. The dimensions seem to have been the same with that of Solomon, except perhaps the height of the interior, which was greater, and the want of the lofty porch or tower. The feast of dedication was celebrated with all the joy and magnificence, which an impoverished and dependant people could display; but what a falling-off in the national sacrifice of 100 bullocks, 200 rams, 400 lambs, and 12 goats, for a sin offering, from the countless hecatombs of Solomon.

The treasures of the national poetry alone were not exhausted: the hymns composed for the second dedication—probably the five last psalms in the collection, though they by no means equalled—approached far nearer to the vigour and dignity of the earlier hymns, than either the temple itself to its prototype, or the number and value of the sacrifices. The Jews enjoyed another kind of satisfaction; their Samaritan adversaries were not merely frustrated in their opposition to the building of the temple, but obliged, by an imperial edict, to contribute to its completion.

To the Jews the rest of the long reign of Darius Hystaspes passed away in uneventful prosperity: to that of his successor, Xerxes, we assign, with some of the most learned German writers, the remarkable history of Esther. The Ahasuerus of Scripture cannot be Darius Hystaspes; nor do we trace the character of the mild and humane Artaxerxes Longimanus in the capricious despot, who repudiates his wife because she will not expose herself to the public gaze in a drunken festival; raises a favourite vizier to the highest honours one day, and hangs him the next; commands the massacre of a whole people, and then allows them, in self-defence, to commit a horrible carnage among his other subjects. Yet all this weak and headstrong violence agrees exactly with the character of that Xerxes who

commanded the sea to be scourged, because it broke down his bridge over the Hellespont; beheaded the engineers, because their work was swept away by a storm; wantonly, and before the eyes of the father, put to death the sons of his oldest friend Pythias, who had contributed most splendidly to his armament; shamefully misused the body of the brave Leonidas; and after his defeat, like another Sardanapalus, gave himself up to such voluptuousness, as to issue an edict, offering a reward to the inventor of a new pleasure. The synchronisms, remarked by Eichhorn, strongly confirm this view. In the third year of his reign, Ahasuerus summons a divan of all the great officers of the kingdom at Susa, whom he entertains and banquets 180 days. In his third year, Xerxes, at a great assembly, deliberates and takes measures for the subjugation of Greece. In his seventh year, (B.C. 479,) Ahasuerus marries Esther. In his seventh year Xerxes returns, discomfited, to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem. The imbecile facility with which Xerxes, according to Herodotus, first gave up to his seductive mistress, Artaynta, a splendid robe, the present of his queen; and then, having made a rash promise at a banquet, yielded up the wife of his brother Masistes, (the mother of his mistress,) to the barbarous vengeance of his queen; so precisely resembles the conduct of Ahasuerus, that it is impossible not to suspect we are reading of the same person, in the Grecian and Hebrew annalist. The similarity of the names Amestris, wife of Xerxes, and Esther, is likewise observable; and though Esther, at first, appears in an amiable light, by the account of her own countrymen; yet the barbarous execution of the ten sons of Haman diminishes the improbability, that, through jealousy, and the corrupting influence of her station in the court of Xerxes, she might in later life have become as revengeful and sanguinary as the Ames-

tris of Herodotus. But whoever was the Ahasuerus (the great king), during his reign the Jewish nation was in danger of total extermination. At the great imperial banquet, where all the splendour of the kingdom was displayed, the sovereign commanded the presence of his queen, Vashti. With a better sense of her own dignity, the queen refused to attend. The weak monarch was not merely irritated during his state of intoxication; but after he had returned to his sober reason, instead of honouring her higher sense of decency, retained his anger at the disobedience of his queen, degraded Vashti from her royal station, and sent out an edict, ludicrous enough to modern ears, which enacted the implicit submission of all the females in the monarchy to the will of their husbands. After this a general levy of beautiful damsels was made, to supply the seraglio of the king, out of whom he was to select his queen. Hadassah, or Esther, the cousin-german of Mordecai, a distinguished Jew, who had brought her up from her childhood, had the fortune to please the king; she was put in possession of the royal apartments, and at a great festival proclaimed the Queen of Persia, her birth still remaining a secret. Among the rival candidates for the royal favour were Mordecai and Haman, said to be descended from the ancient Amalekitish kings. Mordecai had the good fortune to detect a conspiracy against the life of the king, but Haman soon outstripped all competitors in the race of advancement. Perhaps the great destruction in the families of the Persian nobility, particularly of the seven great hereditary counsellors of the kingdom, during the Grecian war, may account, if any cause is wanting besides the caprice of a despot, for the elevation of a stranger to the rank of first vizier. Mordecai alone, his rival, (for this supposition renders the whole history more probable,) refused to pay the accustomed honours to the new favourite. Haman,

most likely secretly informed of his connexion with the queen, and fearing, therefore, to attack Mordecai openly, determined to take his revenge on the whole Jewish people. He represented them to the king as a dangerous and turbulent race; and promised to obtain immense wealth, 10,000 talents of silver, no doubt from the confiscation of their property, to the royal treasury, which was exhausted by the king's pleasures, and by the Grecian war. On these representations he obtained an edict for the general massacre of the Hebrew people throughout all the provinces of the empire, of which Judæa was one. The Jews were in the deepest dismay; those in Susa looked to Mordecai as their only hope, and he to Esther. The influence of the queen might prevail, if she could once obtain an opportunity of softening the heart of Ahasuerus. But it was death, even for the queen, to intrude upon the royal presence unsummoned, unless the king should extend his golden sceptre in sign of pardon. Esther trembled to undertake the cause of her kindred; but, as of Jewish blood, she herself was involved in the general condemnation. Having propitiated her God by a fast of three days, she appeared, radiant in her beauty, before the royal presence. The golden sceptre was extended towards her; not merely her life, but whatever gift she should demand, was conceded by the captivated monarch. The cautious Esther merely invited the king, and Haman his minister, to a banquet. Haman fell into the snare; and, delighted with this supposed mark of favour from the queen, supposed all impediments to the gratification of his vengeance entirely removed, and gave orders that a lofty gallows should be erected for the execution of Mordecai. The king, in the meantime, during a sleepless night, had commanded the chronicles of the kingdom to be read before him. The book happened to open at the relation of the valuable, but unrequited service of

Mordecai, in saving the king's life from a conspiracy within his own palace. The next morning Ahasuerus demanded from the obsequious minister, "in what manner he might most exalt the man whom he delighted to honour?" The vizier, appropriating to himself this signal mark of favour, advised that this highly-distinguished individual should be arrayed in royal robes, set on the king's horse, with the royal crown on his head, and thus led by one of the greatest men through the whole city, and proclaimed to the people, as the man whom the king delighted to honour. To his astonishment and dismay, Haman is himself commanded to conduct, in this triumphant array, his hated rival Mordecai. In terror he consults his wife, and the *wise men* as to his future course; he is interrupted by a summons to the banquet of Esther. Here, as usual, the king, enraptured with his entertainment, offers his queen whatever boon she may desire, even to half of his kingdom. Her request is the deliverance of her people from the fatal sentence. The detection and the condemnation of the minister was the inevitable consequence. Haman, endeavouring to entreat mercy, throws himself upon her couch. The jealous monarch either supposing, or pretending to suppose, that he is making an attempt on the person of the queen, commands his instant execution; and Haman, by this summary sentence, is hanged on the gallows which had been raised for Mordecai; while the Jew is raised to the vacant vizieralty. Still, however, the dreadful edict was abroad: messengers were despatched on all sides throughout the realm, which extended from India to Ethiopia, on horseback, on mules, on camels, and on dromedaries, permitting the Jews to stand on the defensive. In Susa they slew 800 of their adversaries; 75,000 in the provinces. The act of vengeance was completed by the execution of Haman's ten sons, who, at the petition of Esther, suffered the fate of

their father. So great was the confusion and the terror, caused by the degree of royal favour which Mordecai enjoyed, that the whole nation became objects of respect, and many of other extraction embraced their religion. The memory of this signal deliverance has been, and still is, celebrated by the Jews. The festival is called that of Purim, because on that day Haman cast (Pur) the lot to destroy them. It is preceded by a strict fast on the 13th of the month Adar (February and March); the 14th and 15th are given up to the most universal and unbounded rejoicing. The Book of Esther is read in the Synagogue, where all ages and sexes are bound to be present; and whenever the name of Haman occurs, the whole congregation clap their hands, and stamp with their feet, and answer, "Let his memory perish."

The reign of Artaxerxes, the successor of Xerxes on the Persian throne, was favourable to the Jews. In the seventh year a new migration took place from Babylonia, headed by Ezra, a man of priestly descent. He was invested with full powers to make a collection among the Jews of Babylonia for the adornment of the national temple, and to establish magistrates and judges in every part of Judæa. Many of the priesthood of the higher, and of the inferior orders, joined themselves to his party—singers, porters, and Nethinims. They arrived in safety, though without any protection from the royal troops, in Jerusalem, and were received with great respect both by the Jews and the Persian governors. The national spirit of Ezra was deeply grieved to find that, by contracting marriages with the adjacent tribes, not merely the commonalty, but the chieftains and the priests themselves had contaminated the pure descent of the Israelitish race. By his influence these marriages were generally cancelled, and the foreign wives repudiated. Still the city of Jerusalem was open and defenceless: the jealous

policy of the Persian kings would not permit the Jews to fortify a military post of such importance as their capital.

On a sudden, however, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, Nehemiah, a man of Jewish descent, cup-bearer to the king, received a commission to rebuild the city with all possible expedition. The cause of this change in the Persian politics is to be sought, not so much in the personal influence of the Jewish cup-bearer, as in the foreign history of the times. The power of Persia had received a fatal blow in the victory obtained at Cnidus by Conon, the Athenian admiral. The great king was obliged to submit to an humiliating peace, among the articles of which were the abandonment of the maritime towns, and a stipulation that the Persian army should not approach within three days' journey of the sea. Jerusalem being about this distance from the coast, as standing so near the line of communication with Egypt, became a post of the utmost importance. The Persian court saw the wisdom of intrusting the command of a city, and the government of a people always obstinately national, to an officer of their own race, yet on whose fidelity they might have full reliance. The shock, which the Persian authority had suffered, is still further shown by the stealth and secrecy with which Nehemiah, though armed with the imperial edict, was obliged to proceed. For the heads of the neighbouring tribes, the Samaritans, Ammonites, and Arabians, openly opposed the work. By night, and with their arms in their hands, the whole people of every rank and order laboured with such assiduity—one half working, while the other watched, and stood on their defence—that in incredibly short time, fifty-two days, the enemy, Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem the Arabian, who had at first treated the attempt with scorn, saw the strong city of Jerusalem, as if by enchantment, girt with impregnable walls and



towers, defying their assault, and threatening to bridle their independence. Nehemiah had to contend not only with foreign opposition, but domestic treachery. Some of the Jewish nobles were in secret correspondence with the enemy, particularly with Tobiah the Ammonite; and the great measure by which the governor relieved the people from usurious burdens, though popular no doubt among the lower orders, by no means conciliated the more wealthy to his administration. The exaction of the Persian tribute pressed heavily on the mass of the people: to defray this charge the poor were obliged to borrow of the rich, who, in defiance of the Mosaic law, exacted enormous usury. Nehemiah, by the example of his own munificence, and by his authority, extorted in a public assembly a general renunciation of these claims, and a solemn oath of future conformity to the law. In the spirit of the ancient constitution he closed the sitting with this imprecation:—he shook his lap, and said, “So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be ye shaken out and emptied.” And all the congregation said “Amen!” and praised the Lord.

Having thus provided for the outward security and inward peace of the people, and having solemnly dedicated the wall, Nehemiah left Hanani his brother, and Hananiah, as governors of Jerusalem, strictly enjoining them to keep the gates closed, except during the day, and returned to Persia for a short time, to report his proceedings and renew his commission. On his return, which speedily followed, he took new measures to secure the purity of descent, now held of such high importance among the Jews. The genealogies of all the congregation were inquired into and accurately made out; the number of genuine Israelites taken, which amounted to 42,360, with 7337 slaves, and 245 singers of both sexes. All their stock amounted

(only) to 736 horses, their mules 245, camels 435, asses 1720. Such was the fallen state of this once mighty and opulent nation. Yet still the contributions to the temple were on a scale comparatively munificent. Nehemiah himself, the leaders, and the body of the people, voluntarily offered a considerable sum in gold, silver, utensils for the service, and costly garments for the priests. There seems to have been much unwillingness in the body of the people to inhabit the city, where probably the police was more strict, the military duties more onerous, and in general more restraint, with less freedom and less profit, than in the cultivation of the soil. But the general security of the country, and most likely direct orders from the court of Persia, required that the capital should be well manned; and accordingly every tenth man, by lot, was constrained to enroll himself among the citizens of Jerusalem.

In the meantime Ezra, who had been superseded in the civil administration by Nehemiah, had applied himself to his more momentous task—the compilation of the Sacred Books of the Jews. Much of the Hebrew literature was lost at the time of the Captivity; the ancient Book of Jasher, that of the wars of the Lord, the writings of Gad and Iddo the Prophet, and those of Solomon on Natural History. The rest, particularly the Law, of which, after the discovery of the original by Hilkiah, many copies were taken; the historical books, the poetry, including all the prophetic writings, except those of Malachi, were collected, revised, and either at that time, or subsequently, arranged in three great divisions. The Law, containing the five Books of Moses; the Prophets, the historical and prophetic books; the Hagiographa, called also the Psalms, containing Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. At a later period, probably in the time of Simon the Just, the books of Malachi, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther were added, and what

is called the Canon of Jewish Scripture finally closed. It is most likely that from this time the Jews began to establish synagogues, or places of public worship and instruction, for the use of which copies of the sacred writings were multiplied. The law, thus revised and corrected, was publicly read by Ezra, the people listening with the most devout attention; the feast of Tabernacles was celebrated with considerable splendour. After this festival a solemn fast was proclaimed: the whole people, having confessed and bewailed their offences, deliberately renewed the covenant with the God of their fathers. An oath was administered, that they would keep the law; avoid intermarriages with strangers; neither buy nor sell on the Sabbath; observe the sabbatical year, and remit all debts according to the law; pay a tax of a third of a shekel for the service of the temple; and offer all first fruits, and all tithes to the Levites. Thus the Jewish constitution was finally re-established. In the twelfth year of his administration Nehemiah returned to the Persian court. But the weak and unsettled polity required a prudent and popular government. In his absence affairs soon fell into disorder. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of Malachi, the last of the prophets, the solemn covenant was forgotten; and on his return, after a residence of some time in Persia, Nehemiah found the High Priest, Eliashib himself, in close alliance with the deadly enemy of the Jews, Tobiah the Ammonite, and a chamber in the temple assigned for the use of this stranger. A grandson of the High Priest had taken as his wife a daughter of their other adversary, Sanballat. Others of the people had married in the adjacent tribes, had forgotten their native tongue, and spoke a mixed and barbarous jargon; the Sabbath was violated both by the native Jews and by the Tyrian traders, who sold their fish and merchandise at the gates of Jerusalem. Armed with the authority of a Persian satrap;

and that of his own munificent and conciliatory character—for as governor he had lived on a magnificent scale, and continually entertained 150 of the chief leaders at his own table—Nehemiah reformed all these disorders. Among the rest he expelled from Jerusalem Manasseh, the son of Joiada, (who succeeded Eliashib in the high priesthood,) on account of his unlawful marriage with the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. Sanballat meditated signal revenge. He built a rival temple on the mountain of Gerizim, and appointed Manasseh High Priest; and thus the schism between the two nations, the Jews and the Samaritans, was perpetuated for ever. The Jews ascribe all the knowledge of the law among the Samaritans, even their possession of the sacred books, to the apostacy of Manasseh. The rival temple, they assert, became the place of refuge to all the refractory and licentious Jews, who could not endure the strict administration of the law in Judæa. But these are the statements of bitter and implacable adversaries, fairly to be mistrusted either as untrue, or as exaggerated. Still, from the building of the rival temple, we may date the total separation of the two people, of which Samaria, however, remained in comparative insignificance, while Jerusalem was destined to a second era of magnificence and ruin.

During the great period of Grecian splendour in arms, enterprise, and letters, the Jews, in quiet, and perhaps enviable obscurity, lay hid within their native valleys. The tide of war rolled at a distance; wasting Asia Minor, and occasionally breaking on the shores of Cyprus and Egypt. The Grecian writers of this period seem quite unaware of the existence of such a people; they lay entirely out of the line of maritime adventure: Tyre alone, on the Syrian coast, attracted the Grecian merchant. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Jews of Palestine, who were now in their lowest state both

as to numbers and opulence, had commenced their mercantile career. The accounts of the intercourse of the earlier and later Grecian philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, with the Hebrews, are manifestly fictions of the Alexandrian Jews, eagerly adopted and exaggerated by the Christian Fathers. The Greeks little apprehended that a few leagues inland from the coast which their fleets perpetually passed, a people, speaking a language which they esteemed barbarous, was quietly pursuing its rural occupations, and cultivating its luxuriant soil, yet possessed treasures of poetry which would rival their own Pindar and Simonides, moral wisdom which might put to shame that of Plato; a people who hereafter were to send forth the great religious instructors of the world. The provincial administration of the Persian governors exercised only a general superintendence over the subject nations, and the internal government of Jerusalem fell insensibly into the hands of the High Priests.

From the administration of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great, one atrocious crime, committed in the family of the High Priest, appears the only memorable transaction in the uneventful annals of Judæa. Eliashib was succeeded in the High priesthood by Judas—Judas by John. The latter, jealous of the influence of his brother Jesus with Bagoses, the Persian governor, and suspecting him of designs on the High priesthood, murdered him within the precincts of the sanctuary. The Persian came in great indignation to Jerusalem, and when the Jews would have prevented his entrance into the temple, he exclaimed, "Am not I purer than the dead body of him whom ye have slain in the temple?" Bagoses laid a heavy mulct on the whole people—fifty drachms for every lamb offered in sacrifice. At length the peace of this favoured district was interrupted by the invasion of Alexander. After the demolition of Tyre, the conqueror marched

against Gaza, which he totally destroyed. Either during the siege of Tyre, or his march against Gaza, the Jews no doubt made their submission. On this simple fact has been built a romantic and picturesque story. While Alexander was at the siege of Tyre, he sent to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. The High Priest answered that he had sworn fealty to Darius, and was bound to maintain his allegiance to that monarch. After the taking of Gaza, the conqueror advanced against Jerusalem. Juddua, the High Priest, and the people were in the greatest consternation. But, in a vision, God commanded Juddua to take comfort—to hang the city with garlands—throw open the gates—and go forth to meet the enemy, clad in his pontifical robes, the priests in their ceremonial attire, the people in white garments.—Juddua obeyed. The solemn procession marched forth to Sapha, an eminence, from whence the whole city and temple might be seen. No sooner had Alexander beheld the High Priest in his hyacinthine robes, embroidered with gold, and with the turban and its golden frontal, than he fell prostrate and adored the Holy Name, which was there inscribed in golden characters. His attendants were lost in astonishment. The Phœnicians and Chaldeans had been eagerly watching the signal to disperse the suppliants, and pillage the city. The Syrian kings, who stood around, began to doubt if he were in his senses. Parmenio at length demanded why he, whom all the world worshipped, should worship the High Priest. “I worship,” replied the monarch, “not the High Priest, but his God. In a vision at Dios in Macedonia, that figure in that very dress appeared to me. He exhorted me to pass over into Asia, and achieve the conquest of Persia.” Alexander then took the priest by the hand and entered the city. He offered sacrifice; and the High Priest communicated to him the prophecies of Daniel, predicting that a Greek was to

overthrow the Persian empire. Alexander, delighted with his reception, offered to the Jews whatever gift they should desire. They requested the freedom of their brethren in Media and Babylonia. They likewise obtained an exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year. The difficulties and anachronisms of this whole story\* have been exposed by Moyle, and Mitford the Grecian historian; and unfortunately the Alexandrian Jews were so much interested in inventing or embellishing any tale which could honourably connect them with the great founder of that city, that an account, which has most probably passed through their hands, must be received with great mistrust. It is added, that the Samaritans petitioned for the same exemption from tribute in the Sabbatical year. Alexander hesitated. But some of the inhabitants of Samaria, having, for some unknown reason, risen against Andromachus, the Macedonian commander in Samaria, Alexander ordered the whole people to be expelled, and planted a Macedonian colony in their room. The Samaritans retreated to Shechem, and hence they are called, in the book of Ecclesiasticus, *the foolish people that dwell at Shechem*. The insurrection and expulsion of the Samaritans are mentioned by Curtius. Of the former history, the chroniclers of Alexander are silent, excepting Justin, in a passage which it is fair to mention. That author says, that in many of the Syrian cities, the kings came out to meet and submit to Alexander, with sacred fillets on their heads. Alexander is likewise stated to have transplanted 100,000 Jews to his new colony in Egypt, and bestowed on them equal privileges and immunities with the Macedonians.

On the death of Alexander, Judæa came into the possession of Laomedon, one of his generals. On

\* For instance:—the High Priest refuses his allegiance to Alexander though aware that he is designated by God, in the prophecy of Daniel, as the Destroyer of the Persian Empire.

his defeat, Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, attempted to seize the whole of Syria. He advanced against Jerusalem, assaulted it on the Sabbath, and met with no resistance, the superstitious Jews scrupling to violate the holy day, even in self-defence. The conqueror carried away 100,000 captives, whom he settled chiefly in Alexandria and Cyrene. In a short time, following a more humane policy, he endeavoured to attach the Jewish people to his cause, enrolled an army of 30,000 men, and intrusted the chief garrisons of the country to their care. Syria and Judæa did not escape the dreadful anarchy which ensued during the destructive warfare waged by the generals and successors of Alexander. Twice these provinces fell into the power of Antigonos, and twice were regained by Ptolemy, to whose share they were finally adjudged after the decisive defeat of Antigonos at Ipsus. The maritime towns, Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza, were the chief points of contention; Jerusalem itself seems to have escaped the horrors of war. During this dangerous period Onias, the High Priest, administered the public affairs for twenty-one years. He was succeeded, the year after the battle of Ipsus, by Simon the Just, a pontiff on whom Jewish tradition dwells with peculiar attachment. His death was the commencement of peril and disaster, announced, say the Rabbins, by the most alarming prodigies. The sacrifices, which were always favourably accepted during his life, at his death became uncertain or unfavourable. The scape goat, which used to be thrown from a rock, and to be dashed immediately to pieces, escaped (a fearful omen) into the desert. The great west light of the golden chandelier no longer burnt with a steady flame; sometimes it was extinguished. The sacrificial fire languished; the sacrificial bread failed, so as not to suffice, as formerly, for the whole priesthood.

The founding of the Syro-Grecian kingdom by



Seleucus, and the establishment of Antioch as the capital, brought Judæa into the unfortunate situation of a weak province, placed between two great conflicting monarchies. Still under the mild government of the first three Ptolemies, Soter, Philadelphus, and Euergetes, both the native and Alexandrian Jews enjoyed many marks of the royal favour; and while almost all the rest of the world was ravaged by war, their country flourished in profound peace. Towards the end of the reign of Euergetes, the prosperity of the nation was endangered by the indolence and misconduct of Onias the Second, the High Priest, the son of Simon the Just, who had succeeded his uncles, Eleazar and Manasseh, in the supreme authority. The payment of the customary tribute having been neglected, the Egyptian king threatened to invade the country, and share it among his soldiers. The High Priest being unable, or unwilling, to go to Egypt to answer for his conduct, his nephew Joseph was despatched on this delicate mission. Joseph with difficulty obtained money for his journey of some Samaritans. He travelled to Egypt in a caravan with some rich Coele Syrians and Phœnicians, who were going to Alexandria to obtain the farming of the royal tribute. He caught from their conversation the sum they proposed to offer, and the vast profit they intended to make of their bargain. On his arrival at court, he made rapid progress in the royal favour. When the farmers of the revenue came to make their offers, they bid 8000 talents; Joseph instantly offered double that sum. His sureties were demanded; he boldly named the king and queen. Struck with the character of the man, the royal bondsmen testified their assent; and Joseph became farmer of the revenues of Judæa, Samaria, Phœnicia, and Coele Syria, with a formidable body of tax gatherers, 2000 soldiers. By making one or two terrible examples, putting to death twenty men at Ascalon, and confiscating 1000 talents of their

property, and by the same severity at Scythopolis, Joseph succeeded in raising the royal revenue with great profit to himself. He continued to discharge his office with vigilance, punctuality, and prudence, for twenty-two years. Nor does it appear that his measures were unjust or oppressive. His administration lasted till the invasion of Antiochus the Great. This enterprising monarch, not contented with wresting his own territory of Cœlesyria from the power of Ptolemy, seized Judæa, but was totally defeated in a great battle at Raphia, near Gaza. After his victory, Ptolemy (Philopator) entered Jerusalem. He made sumptuous presents to the temple, but pressing forward to enter the sanctuary, he was repelled by the High Priest, Simon, son of Onias. He is reported to have been seized with a supernatural awe and horror; but from that time he entertained implacable animosity against the Jews, whom, it is said, he cruelly persecuted, as will hereafter be related, in Alexandria. During the monarchy of the next Ptolemy (Epiphanes), Antiochus again seized Cœlesyria and Judæa. Scopas, general of the Egyptian forces, recovered, garrisoned, and strengthened Jerusalem, which he ruled with an iron and oppressive hand. But being defeated near the sources of the Jordan, he was constrained to leave Antiochus undisputed master of the territory. The Syrian king was received as a deliverer in Jerusalem, and desirous to attach these valuable allies to his cause, he issued a decree highly favourable to the whole nation. Antiochus afterward bestowed Cœlesyria and Judæa, as the dowry of his daughter Cleopatra, on the young king of Egypt, Ptolemy Epiphanes. Still, however, the revenues were to be shared by the two sovereigns. In what manner the king of Syria regained his superiority does not appear, but probably through the disorder into which the affairs of Egypt fell, at the close of the reign of

Ptolemy Epiphanes, and during the minority of Ptolemy Philometor.

It was not, however, the tyranny of foreign sovereigns, but the unprincipled ambition of their own native rulers, that led to calamities little less dreadful than the Babylonian captivity, the plunder and ruin of the holy city, the persecution, and almost the extermination of the people. - By the elevation of Joseph, the son of Tobias, to the office of collector, or farmer of the royal revenue, as above related, arose a family powerful enough to compete with that of the High Priest. Joseph had eight sons; the youngest, Hyrcanus, by his own niece, who was substituted by her father in the place of a dancer, of whom Joseph had become violently enamoured, in Egypt. This niece he afterward married. Hyrcanus, being sent on a mission to congratulate Ptolemy Philopator on the birth of his son, got possession of all his father's treasures. By the magnificence of his presents, a hundred beautiful girls, and a hundred beautiful boys, which each cost a talent, and bore a talent in their hands, and by the readiness of his wit, he made as favourable an impression in the court as his father had done before him. On his return to Judæa, he was attacked by his brothers, on account of his appropriation of his father's Egyptian wealth: two of them were slain in the affray. Hyrcanus then retreated beyond the Jordan, and became collector of the revenue in that district. On his father's death a great contest arose about the partition of his wealth; the High Priest, Onias III., took part with the elder brothers against Hyrcanus. He fled again beyond Jordan, built a strong tower, and committed depredations on the Arabians, probably the Nabatheans, who carried on a considerable commerce. Dreading, however, the vengeance of the king of Syria, he fell on his sword and slew himself. A feud in the mean time had arisen between Onias and Simon, according to con-

lecture the elder son of Joseph, who held the office of governor of the temple. The immediate cause of dispute, probably, related to the command over the treasury of the temple, in which Onias had permitted Hyrcanus to deposite part of his riches, and over which Simon, as collector of the royal revenue, might pretend to some authority. Simon fled to Apollonius, who governed Cœlesyria, under King Seleucus, and gave an account of incalculable treasures laid up in the Jewish temple. Heliodorus, the royal treasurer, was immediately despatched to take possession of this unexpected fund, so opportunely discovered; for the finances of Seleucus were exhausted by the exactions of the Romans. The whole city was in an agony of apprehension, the High Priest seemed in the deepest distress, while the royal officer advanced to profane and pillage the temple of God. Suddenly a horse with a terrible rider, clad in golden armour, rushed into the courts, and smote at Heliodorus with his fore feet. Two young men, of great strength and beauty, and splendidly attired, stood by the rider, and scourged the intruder with great violence. At this awful apparition the treasurer fell half dead upon the pavement, was carried senseless out of the precincts of the sanctuary, and only revived after the promise of the High Priest to intercede with his offended Deity. Although the Jews were too much delighted, and the Syrians too much terrified, to doubt the reality of this miracle, yet Simon, the adversary of the High Priest, was not only incredulous, but openly accused him of imposture. The factions grew more turbulent, and murders having been committed by the party of Simon, Onias went up to Antioch to request the interposition of the sovereign. Soon after his arrival, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes the Illustrious, or Epimanes the Madman, succeeded his brother Seleucus on the throne of Syria. Antiochus united the quick and versatile character of

a Greek, with the splendid voluptuousness of an Asiatic. At one time he debased the royal dignity by mingling with the revels of his meanest subjects, scouring the streets in his riotous frolics, or visiting the lowest places of public entertainment, and the common baths; or, like Peter of Russia, conversing with the artisans in their shops on their various trades. With still less regard to the dignity of his own character, he was fond of mimicking in public the forms of election to the Roman magistracies; he would put on a white robe, and canvass the passengers in the streets for their votes. Then, supposing himself to have been elected edile, or tribune, he would place his curule chair in the open market-place, and administer justice. A poor revenge against a people, before whose power he trembled! On the other hand, the pleasures of Antiochus were those of a Sardanapalus; and his munificence, more particularly towards the religious ceremonies and edifices, both of his own dominions and of Greece, was on a scale of truly Oriental grandeur. For among the discrepancies of this singular character, must be reckoned a great degree of bigotry and religious intolerance. The admirers of the mild genius of the Grecian religion, and those who suppose religious persecution unknown in the world till the era of Christianity, would do well to consider the wanton and barbarous attempt of Antiochus to exterminate the religion of the Jews, and substitute that of the Greeks. Yet the savage and tyrannical violence of Antiochus was, in fact, and surely we may say providentially, the safeguard of the Jewish nation from the greatest danger to which it had ever been exposed, the slow and secret encroachment of Grecian manners, Grecian arts, Grecian vices, and Grecian idolatry. It roused the dormant energy of the whole people, and united again, in indissoluble bonds, the generous desire of national independence, with zealous attachment to the national religion.

It again identified the true patriot with the devout worshipper. Joshua, or Jason, the brother of Onias, the High Priest, by the offer of 360 talents, bribed the luxurious, but needy sovereign of Syria, to displace his unoffending relative, and confer upon himself the vacant dignity. Onias was summoned to Antioch, and there detained in honourable confinement. Joshua proceeded to strengthen his own interests by undermining the national character; he assumed a Grecian name, Jason; obtained permission to build a gymnasium, to which he attracted all the youth of the city; weaned them by degrees from all the habits and opinions of their fathers, and trained them in a complete system of Grecian education. He allowed the services of the temple to fall into disuse; and carried his alienation from the Jewish faith so far as to send a contribution to the great games, which were celebrated at Tyre in honour of their tutelary deity, the Hercules of the Greeks. This last act of impiety was frustrated by the religious feelings of his messengers, who, instead of conferring the present on the conductors of the games, gave it to the magistrates to be employed in the service of their fleet. The authority of Jason was short-lived. He sent, to pay the tribute at Antioch, another Onias, (his own brother, according to Josephus, or the brother of Simon, the son of Joseph, according to the book of Maccabees,) but who, in conformity to the Grecian fashion, had assumed the name of Menelaus. This man seized the opportunity of outbidding his employer for the high priesthood, and was accordingly substituted in his place. Menelaus, however, found the treasury exhausted by the profusion of Jason, and, in order to make good his payments at Antioch, secretly purloined the golden vessels of the temple, which he sold at Tyre. The zeal of the deposed Onias was kindled at this sacrilege; he publicly denounced the plunderer before the tribunal of Antioch. But

the gold of Menelaus was all-powerful among the officers of the Syrian court. Onias fled to an asylum in the Daphne, near Antioch, but being persuaded to come forth, was put to death by Andronicus, whom Menelaus had bribed. Yet the life of Onias had been so blameless and dignified, that even the profligate court and thoughtless monarch lamented his death. In the mean time a formidable insurrection had taken place in Jerusalem. The people, indignant at the plunder of the temple, attacked Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus, who had been left in command, and, although he rallied a force of 3000 men, overpowered and slew him.

Antiochus had now opened his campaign for the subjugation of Egypt. While at Tyre, a deputation from Jerusalem came before him to complain of the tyranny of Menelaus. Menelaus contrived not merely that the embassy should have no effect, but the ambassadors themselves were murdered. Antiochus advanced the next year into Egypt: his career was victorious: the whole country submitted. But a false rumour of his death having reached Palestine, Jason, the dispossessed High Priest, seized the opportunity of revolt against his brother, took the city, shut up Menelaus in the castle of Acra, and began to exercise the most horrible revenge against the opposite party. The intelligence of the insurrection, magnified into a deliberate revolt of the whole nation, reached Antiochus. He marched without delay against Jerusalem, took it without much resistance, put to death in three days' time 40,000 of the inhabitants, and seized as many more to be sold as slaves. Bad as this was, it was the common fate of rebellious cities; but Antiochus proceeded to more cruel and wanton outrages against the religion of the people. He entered every part of the temple, pillaged the treasury, seized all the sacred utensils, the golden candlestick, the table of showbread, the altar of incense; and thus col-

lected a booty to the amount of 1800 talents. He then commanded a great sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offerings, part of the flesh to be boiled, and the liquor from the unclean animal to be sprinkled over every part of the temple; and thus desecrated with the most odious defilement the sacred place, which the Jews had considered for centuries the one holy spot in all the universe. The dastardly Jason had escaped before the approach of Antiochus: he led a wandering life; and died at length, unpitied and despised, at Lacedæmon. Menelaus retained the dignity of High Priest; but two foreign officers, Philip, a Phrygian, and Andrōnicus, were made governors of Jerusalem and Samaria. Two years afterward, Antiochus, being expelled from Egypt by the Romans, determined to suppress every pretension to independence within his own territories. He apprehended, perhaps, the usual policy of the Romans, who never scrupled at any measures to weaken the powerful monarchies which stood in the way of their schemes of conquest, whether by exciting foreign enemies, or fomenting civil disturbances in their states. The execution of the sanguinary edict for the extermination of the whole Hebrew race was intrusted to Apollonius, and executed with as cruel despatch as the most sanguinary tyrant could desire. Apollonius waited till the sabbath, when the whole people were occupied in their peaceful religious duties. He then let loose his soldiers against the unresisting multitude, slew all the men, till the streets ran with blood, and seized all the women as captives. He proceeded to pillage, and then to dismantle the city, which he set on fire in many places; he threw down the walls, and built a strong fortress on the highest part of Mount Sion, which commanded the temple and all the rest of the city. From this garrison he harassed all the people of the country, who stole in with fond attachment to visit the ruins, or offer a



hasty and interrupted worship in the place of the sanctuary; for all the public services had ceased, and no voice of adoration was heard in the holy city, unless of the profane heathen calling on their idols. The persecution did not end here. Antiochus issued out an edict for uniformity of worship throughout his dominions, and despatched officers into all parts to enforce rigid compliance with the decree. This office in the district of Judæa and Samaria, was assigned to Athenæus, an aged man, who was well versed in the ceremonies and usages of the Grecian religion. The Samaritans, according to the Jewish account, by whom they are represented, as always asserting their Jewish lineage, when it seemed to their advantage, and their Median descent, when they hoped thereby to escape any imminent danger, yielded at once; and the temple on Gerizim was formally consecrated to Jupiter Xénus. Athenæus, having been so far successful, proceeded to Jerusalem, where, with the assistance of the garrison, he prohibited and suppressed every observance of the Jewish religion, forced the people to profane the sabbath, to eat swine's flesh and other unclean food, and expressly forbade the national rite of circumcision. The temple was dedicated to Jupiter Olympius; the statue of that Deity erected on part of the altar of burnt offerings, and sacrifice duly performed. Two women, who circumcised their children, were hanged in a conspicuous part of the city, with their children round their necks: and many more of those barbarities committed, which, as it were, escape the reprobation of posterity, from their excessive atrocity. Cruelties, too horrible to be related, sometimes, for that very reason, do not meet with the detestation they deserve. Among other martyrdoms Jewish tradition dwells with honest pride on that of Eleazar, an aged scribe, ninety years old, who determined *to leave a notable example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honourable*

*and holy laws*: and that of the seven brethren, who, encouraged by their mother, rejected the most splendid offers, and confronted the most excruciating torments, rather than infringe the law. From Jerusalem the persecution spread throughout the country: in every city the same barbarities were executed, the same profanations introduced; and, as a last insult, the feasts of the Bacchanalia, the license of which, as they were celebrated in the later ages of Greece, shocked the severe virtue of the older Romans, were substituted for the national festival of Tabernacles. The reluctant Jews were forced to join in these riotous orgies, and carry the ivy, the insignia of the god. So near was the Jewish nation, and the worship of Jehovah, to total extermination.

## BOOK X.

## THE ASMONEANS.

*Mattathias—Judas the Maccabee—Jonathan—Simon—John Hyrcanus  
—Aristobulus the I.—Alexander Jannæus—Alexandra—Aristobu-  
lus II.—Hyrcanus II.*

AT this crisis Divine Providence interposed, not as formerly, with miraculous assistance, but by the instrumentality of human virtues; the lofty patriotism, adventurous valour, daring and sagacious soldiiership, generous self-devotion, and inextinguishable zeal of heroic men in the cause of their country and their God. In Modin, a town on an eminence, commanding a view of the sea, the exact site of which is unknown, lived Mattathias, a man of the priestly line of Joarib, himself advanced in years, but with five sons in the prime of life, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. When Apelles, the officer of Antiochus, arrived at Modin to enforce the execution of the edict against the Jewish religion, he made splendid offers to Mattathias, as a man of great influence, to induce him to submit to the royal will. The old man not merely rejected his advances, but publicly proclaimed his resolution to live and die in the faith of his fathers; and when an apostate Jew was about to offer sacrifice to the heathen deity, in a transport of indignant zeal, Mattathias struck him dead upon the altar. He then fell on the king's commissioner, put him to death, and summoned all the citizens, who were zealous for the law, to follow him to the mountains. Their numbers rapidly increased; but the Syrian troops having surprised 1000 in a cave, attacked them on the sabbath day, and meeting with no resistance,

slew them without mercy. From thenceforth Mattathias and his followers determined to break through this over-scrupulous observance of the sabbath, and to assert the legality of defensive warfare on that day.

The insurgents conducted their revolt with equal enterprise and discretion. For a time they lay hid in the mountain fastnesses; and, as opportunity occurred, poured down upon the towns; destroyed the heathen altars; enforced circumcision; punished all apostates who fell into their hands, recovered many copies of the law, which their enemies had wantonly defaced; and re-established the synagogues for public worship; the temple being defiled, and in the possession of the enemy. Their ranks were swelled with the zealots for the law, who were then called the Chasidim. For, immediately after the return from Babylonia, two sects had divided the people; the Zadikim, the righteous, who observed the written law of Moses; and the more austere and abstemious Chasidim, or the holy, who added to the law the traditions and observances of the fathers, and professed a holiness beyond the letter of the covenant. From the former sprung the Caraites and Sadducees of later times; from the latter, the Pharisees. But the age of Mattathias was ill suited to this laborious and enterprising warfare: having bequeathed the command to Judas, the most valiant of his sons, he sank under the weight of years and toil. So great already was the terror of his name, that he was buried, without disturbance on the part of the enemy, in his native city of Modin.

If the youth of the new general added vigour and enterprise to the cause, it lost nothing in prudence and discretion. Judas unfolded the banner of the Maccabees, a name of which the derivation is uncertain. Some assert that it is formed from the concluding letters of a sentence in the eleventh

verse of the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, "*Mi Camo Ka Baalim Jehovah*," signifying, *Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah*. Some that it was the banner of the tribe of Dan, which contained the three last letters of the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: others that it was the personal appellation of Judas, from a word signifying a hammer, like that of Charles Martel, the hero of the Franks. Having tried his soldiers by many gallant adventures, surprising many cities, which he garrisoned and fortified, Judas determined to meet the enemy in the field. Apollonius, the governor of Samaria, first advanced against him, and was totally defeated and slain. Judas took the sword of his enemy as a trophy, and ever after used it in battle. Seron, the deputy-governor of Coele Syria, advanced to revenge the defeat of Apollonius, but encountering the enemy in the strong pass of Beth-horon, met with the same fate. The circumstances of the times favoured the noble struggle of Judas and his followers for independence. By his prodigal magnificence, both in his pleasures and in his splendid donatives and offerings, Antiochus had exhausted his finances. His eastern provinces, Armenia and Persia, refused their tribute. He therefore was constrained to divide his forces, marching himself into the east, and leaving Lysias, with a great army, to crush the insurrection in Judæa. The rapid progress of Judas demanded immediate resistance. Philip, the Syrian governor in Jerusalem, sent urgent solicitations for relief. The vanguard of the Syrian army, amounting to 20,000, under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias, advanced rapidly into the province: it was followed by the general in chief, Ptolemy Macron; their united forces forming an army of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse. In their train came a multitude of slave merchants; for Nicanor had suggested the policy of selling as many of the insurgents as they could take, to discharge the arrears of tribute due

to the Romans. Judas assembled 6000 men at Mizpeh: there they fasted and prayed; and the religious ceremony, performed in that unusual place, sadly reminded them of the desolate state of the holy city, the profanation of the sanctuary, the discontinuance of the sacrifices. But if sorrow subdued the tamer spirits, it infused loftier indignation and nobler self-devotion in the valiant. Judas knew that his only hope, save in his God, was in the enthusiastic zeal of his followers for the law of Moses. In strict conformity to its injunctions, he issued out through his little army the appointed proclamation, that all who had married wives, built houses, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should return to their homes. His force dwindled to 3000 men. Yet with this small band he advanced toward Emmaus, where the enemy lay encamped. Intelligence reached him that Gorgias had been detached with 5000 chosen foot and 1000 horse, to surprise him by night. He instantly formed the daring resolution of eluding the attack, by falling on the camp of the enemy. It was morning before he arrived; but, animating his men to the attack, he rushed down upon the Syrians, who, after a feeble resistance, fled on all sides. Judas was as wary as bold; his troops as well-disciplined as enterprising. He restrained them from the plunder of the camp, till the return of Gorgias with the flower of the army, who came back weary with seeking the Jewish insurgents among the mountains, where they had hoped to surprise them. To their astonishment they beheld their own camp in a blaze of fire. The contest was short, but decisive: the Syrians were defeated with immense loss. The rich booty of the camp fell into the hands of the Jews, who, with just retribution sold for slaves as many of the slave-merchants as they could find. The next day was the sabbath, a day indeed of rest and rejoicing. But success only excited the honourable ambition of the Maccabees.

Hearing that a great force was assembling beyond the Jordan under Timotheus and Bacchides, he crossed the river, and gained a great victory and a considerable supply of arms. Here two of the chief oppressors of the Jews, Philarches and Callisthenes, perished; one in battle; the other burnt to death in a house, where he had taken refuge. Nicanor fled, in the disguise of a slave, to Antioch. The next year Lysias appeared in person, at the head of 60,000 foot and 5,000 horse, on the southern frontier of Judæa; having perhaps levied part of his men among the Idumeans. This tribe now inhabited a district to the west of their ancestors, the Edomites, having been dispossessed of their former territory by the Nabathean Arabs. Judas met this formidable host with 10,000 men; gained a decisive victory, and slew 5000 of the enemy. Thus on all sides triumphant, Judas entered, with his valiant confederates, the ruined and desolate Jerusalem. They found shrubs grown to some height, like the underwood of a forest, in the courts of the temple; every part of the sacred edifice had been profaned; the chambers of the priests were thrown down. With wild lamentations and the sound of martial trumpets they mingled their prayers and praises to the God of their fathers. Judas took the precaution to keep a body of armed men on the watch against the Syrian garrison in the citadel; and then proceeded to instal the most blameless of the priests in their office, to repair the sacred edifice, purify every part from the profanation of the heathen, to construct a new altar, replace out of the booty all the sacred vessels, and at length to celebrate the feast of dedication—a period of eight days—which ever after was held sacred in the Jewish calendar. It was the festival of the regeneration of the people, which, but for the valour of the Maccabees, had almost lost its political existence.

The re-establishment of a powerful state in Ju-

judæa was not beheld without jealousy by the neighbouring tribes. But Judas, having strongly fortified the temple on the side of the citadel, anticipated a powerful confederacy which was forming against him, and carried his victorious arms into the territories of the Idumeans and Ammonites. Thus discomfited on every side, the Syrians and their allies began to revenge themselves on the Jews who were scattered in Galilee and the Transjordanic provinces. A great force from Tyre and Ptolemais advanced into the neighbouring country. Timotheus, son of a former general of the same name, laid waste Gilead with great slaughter. Judas, by the general consent of the people, divided his army into three parts; 8000 men, under his own command, crossed the Jordan into Gilead; 3000, under his brother Simon, marched into Galilee; the rest, under Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, remained to defend the liberated provinces; but with strict injunctions to make no hostile movement. The Maccabees, as usual, were irresistible: city after city fell before Judas and Jonathan. At length, having subdued the whole country, Judas found it prudent not to extend his kingdom to the bounds of that of David, and with that view removed all the Jews beyond the Jordan to the more defensible province of Judæa. Simon was equally successful in Galilee; he drove the enemy before him to the gates of Ptolemais. But the commanders who were left at home, in direct violation of orders, undertook an ill-concerted enterprise against Jamnia, a seaport; were opposed by Bacchides, the most skilful of the Syrian generals, and met with a signal defeat.

In the meantime the great oppressor of the Jews, Antiochus, had died in Persia. That his end was miserable both the Jewish and Roman historians agree. He had been repulsed in an assault on a rich and sumptuous temple in Persia, called by the Greeks that of Diana; perhaps of the female Mithra



or the moon. Whether he had been incited by the desire of plunder, or by his bigoted animosity against foreign religions, does not appear; but at the same time he received intelligence of the disastrous state of his affairs in Palestine. Hastening homeward, he was seized with an incurable disorder, in a small town among the mountains of Paretacene. There, consumed in body by a loathsome ulcer, afflicted in mind by horrible apparitions and remorse of conscience, for his outrage on the Persian temple, says Polybius—for his horrible barbarities and sacrilege in Judæa, assert the Hebrew writers—died the most magnificent of the Syro-Macedonian monarchs.

Lysias, who commanded in Syria, immediately set up a son of the deceased king, Antiochus Eupator, upon the throne; Demetrius, the rightful heir as son of Seleucus, being a hostage in Rome. The first measure of Lysias was to attempt the subjugation of Judæa, where a strong party of the apostate Jews anxiously awaited his approach. The royal army formed the siege of Bethsura, a town on the Idumean frontier, which Judas had strongly fortified. Their force consisted of 80 or 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 32 elephants. Bethsura made a valiant defence, and Judas marched from Jerusalem to its relief. The elephants seem to have excited great terror and astonishment. According to the Jewish annalist each beast was escorted by a thousand foot, splendidly armed, and 500 horse; each bore a tower containing 32 men; and to provoke them to fight, *they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries.* The whole army, in radiant armour, spread over the mountains and valleys, so that the *mountains glistened therewith, and seemed like lamps of fire.* Yet wherever Judas fought, the Hebrews were successful; and his heroic brother, Eleazar, excited the admiration of his countrymen by rushing under an elephant, which he stabbed in the belly, and was crushed to death by its fall. Still Judas found him-

self obliged to retreat upon Jerusalem. Bethsura, pressed by famine, capitulated on honourable terms; and the royal army joined the siege of that part of the city, which was in the possession of Judas. Jerusalem resisted all their assaults; the Syrians began to suffer from want of provisions; and intelligence arrived that affairs at Antioch demanded their immediate presence. A treaty was concluded, and Antiochus admitted into the city; but in direct violation of the terms, he threw down the walls and dismantled the fortifications.

Demetrius in the mean time, the lineal heir to the throne of Antioch, had escaped from Rome. After some struggle, he overpowered Lysias and Antiochus, put them to death, and became undisputed master of the kingdom. The new king adopted a more dangerous policy against the independence of Judæa than the vast armies of his predecessor. The looser and less patriotic Jews ill-brooked the austere government of the Chasidim, who formed the party of Judas: many, perhaps, were weary of the constant warfare in which their valiant champion was engaged. Menelaus, the renegade High Priest, had accompanied the army of Lysias, and endeavoured to form a faction in his favour: but, on some dissatisfaction, Lysias sent him to Berea, where he was thrown into a tower of ashes and suffocated. Onias, son of the Onias murdered by means of Menelaus, the heir of the priesthood, fled to Egypt, and Alcimus, or Jacimus, was raised to the high priesthood. By reviving the title of the High Priest to the supreme authority, Demetrius hoped, if not to secure a dependant vassal on the government of Judæa, at least to sow discord among the insurgents. He sent Alcimus, supported by Bacchides, his most able general, to claim his dignity. The zealots for the law could not resist the title of the High Priest. Jerusalem submitted. But no sooner had Alcimus got the leaders into his

power than he basely murdered sixty of them; Bacchides followed up the blow with great severities in other parts. Still, no sooner had Bacchides withdrawn his troops, than Judas again took arms, and Alcimus was compelled to fly to Antioch. Demetrius despatched Nicanor, with a great army, to reinstate Alcimus. Jerusalem was still in the possession of the Syrians; and Nicanor attempted to get Judas into his power by stratagem, but the wary soldier was on his guard. A battle took place at Capharsalama: Nicanor retreated, with the loss of 5000 men, to Jerusalem, where he revenged himself by the greatest barbarities: one of the elders, named Raziz, rather than fall into his hands, stabbed himself with his own sword; but the wound not proving mortal, he ran forth and destroyed himself by other means, too horrible to describe. By these cruelties, and by a threat of burning the temple and consecrating the spot to Bacchus, Nicanor endeavoured to force the people to surrender their champion. All these treacherous and cruel means proving ineffectual, he was forced to revert to open war. A second battle took place, in which the superior forces of Nicanor were totally routed, and he himself slain. After this final victory Judas took a more decided step to secure the independence of his country; he entered into a formal treaty of alliance with Rome. The ambitious Roman senate—steadily pursuing their usual policy, of weakening all the great monarchies of the world, by all means whether honourable or treacherous; and ever, as Justin observes, ready to grant what did not belong to them—eagerly ratified the independence of Judæa, and received under their protection these useful confederates. Before, however, the treaty was made known, the glorious career of the Maccabee had terminated. Demetrius sent Alcimus and Bacchides, with the whole force of his kingdom, into Palestine. Judas was aban-

done by all his troops, but 800 men, yet could not be prevailed on to retreat. Having discomfited one wing of the enemy's army, he fell nobly, as he had lived, the martyr, as the champion of his country. Among those lofty spirits who have asserted the liberty of their native land against wanton and cruel oppression, none have surpassed the most able of the Maccabees in accomplishing a great end with inadequate means; none ever united more generous valour with a better cause.

The faction of Alcimus now triumphed, the partisans of the Maccabees were oppressed, and the unrelenting Bacchides put to death the bravest of their adherents with the most cruel indignities. Jonathan, the brother of Judas, assembled a small force, and lay concealed in the wilderness of Tekoah, defended by the Jordan on one side, and a morass on the other. A third of this gallant race, John, had fallen in an affray with an Arab tribe, who surprised him while escorting some of their effects to the friendly Nabatheans. To revenge his death was the first object; during a splendid marriage ceremony, the Jews fell on the bride and bridegroom, with all their attendants, and put them to the sword. Soon after this they repelled an attack of Bacchides, with great loss, but finding their numbers unequal to the contest, they swam the river and escaped. Bacchides, to secure military possession of the country, fortified and garrisoned all the strong towns. In the mean time, the unworthy High Priest, Alcimus, having begun to throw down one of the partition walls in the temple, was seized with a mortal disorder, and died. On his death, Bacchides retired to Antioch, and Jonathan immediately broke out of his hiding-place; but on the reappearance of Bacchides at the head of a considerable army, he again took refuge in the wilderness; where he kept up a desultory guerilla warfare, he himself hovering about the camp of Bacchides, while his brother Simon de-

fended the strong post of Bethhasi. At length Bacchides, either wearied of this inglorious and harassing campaign, perhaps by orders from his court, who began to tremble at the danger of oppressing an ally of Rome, entered into honourable terms of peace. Jonathan thus became master of Judæa; though Jerusalem, and many of the stronger towns, occupied by garrisons, either of Syrians or apostate Jews, defied his authority. A revolution in the kingdom of Syria gave him new strength and importance. An adventurer, Alexander Balas, announcing himself as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, laid claim to the crown of the Seleucidæ. The Romans admitted his title, and Jonathan found himself courted by the two competitors for the kingdom of Antioch. Demetrius gave him power to levy forces, and yielded up all the hostages which remained in his hands. Jonathan seized the opportunity of making himself master of the city, though not of the fortress, of Jerusalem. But Alexander outbid his rival; he offered the high priesthood exemption from all tribute, *from customs of salt and from crown taxes, the third part of the seed and half of the fruit of the trees*; the surrender of all prisoners, not merely protection in their religion, but the town of Ptolemais, and other donatives for the expenses of the temple, and for the building and repairs of the city. Jonathan immediately assumed the pontifical robe, and in his person commenced the reign of the Asmonean princes. The impostor, Alexander, met with the greatest success; defeated and slew Demetrius; mounted the throne of Syria; and received the daughter of the king of Egypt in marriage. Jonathan, who appeared at the wedding, was received with the highest honours that the court could bestow. These distinctions were not thrown away on a useless or ungrateful ally. Apollonius, the general of young Demetrius, who laid claim to his father's crown, was defeated by Jonathan; the victorious High Priest stormed Joppa, took Azotus,

and there destroyed the famous temple of Dagon. The reign of Alexander Balas was short, he was overthrown by his father-in-law, Ptolemy, against whose life he had conspired, and Demetrius, surnamed Nicator, obtained the throne of Syria. Jonathan seized the opportunity of laying siege to the citadel of Jerusalem, the opposite faction endeavoured to obtain the interference of Demetrius, but Jonathan, leaving his troops to press the siege, went in person to the court in Antioch. He was received with great honour, and a treaty was concluded, still more advantageous to his power than that with Alexander Balas. In return, a body guard of 3,000 Jews saved Demetrius from a dangerous conspiracy, and suppressed a turbulent sedition in Antioch. The conspiracy took its rise in the claims of Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas, who was supported by Tryphon, an officer equally crafty and ambitious. But the good understanding between Demetrius and Jonathan did not last long, and no sooner was the support of his powerful vassal withdrawn, than the Syrian king was constrained to fly and yield up the throne to his rival, young Antiochus. Jonathan was treated with great distinction by the new sovereign, Antiochus Theos; he was confirmed in his dignity as High Priest. Simon, his brother, was appointed captain general of all the country from the ladder of Tyre to the river of Egypt. The activity of Jonathan mainly contributed to the security of Antiochus. He gained two signal victories over the armies in the service of Demetrius, strengthened many of the fortresses in Judæa, and renewed the treaty with Rome, when his prosperous career was suddenly cut short by treachery. Tryphon, the officer, who had raised the young Antiochus to the throne, began to entertain ambitious views of supplanting him. The great obstacles to his scheme were the power and integrity of Jonathan. With insidious offers of peace, he persuaded Jonathan to

dismiss a large army which he had assembled to assist Antiochus, and allured him within the walls of Ptolemais, with a few followers, under pretence of surrendering to him the town. He then suddenly closed the gates, took Jonathan prisoner, and poured his troops over the great plain of Galilee. The Jews were struck, but not paralyzed, with consternation. Another of the noble race of Mattathias remained, and Simon was immediately invested with the command. The crafty Tryphon began to negotiate: he offered to yield up Jonathan at the price of 100 talents of silver; and two of his children, hostages for his peaceable conduct. The money and the hostages were sent, but the perfidious Tryphon refused to surrender Jonathan. The two armies watched each other for some time. The Syrians being prevented by a heavy fall of snow from relieving their garrison in the fortress of Jerusalem, Tryphon having first put to death the brave Jonathan, hastened into Syria, where he treated the unhappy Antiochus with the same treachery and atrocity. Simon recovered the body of his brother, who was interred at Modin in great state; a sepulchre, with seven pillars, for the father, mother, and five Maccabean brethren, was raised on an eminence; a sea-mark to all the vessels which sailed along the coast.

Simon openly espoused the party of Demetrius against Tryphon, and received from that monarch a full recognition of the independence of his country. Instead, therefore, of interfering in foreign affairs, he directed his whole attention to the consolidation and internal security of the Jewish kingdom. He sent an embassy, which was honourably received at Rome, fortified Bethsura, on the Idumean frontier, and Joppa, the great port of Judæa; reduced Gazara; and at length having made himself master of the fortress in Jerusalem, not merely dismantled it, but, with incredible labour, levelled the hill on which it stood, so that it no longer commanded the hill of the

temple. Simon executed the law with great impartiality and vigour; repaired the temple, restored the sacred vessels; and the wasted country began, under his prudent administration, to enjoy its ancient fertility. In the picturesque language of their older poets, the historian says, *The ancient men sat all in the streets, communing together of the wealth of the land, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel.* To secure the alliance of the Romans, the great safeguard of the new state, he sent a golden shield, weighing 1,000 pounds, to Rome. In the mean time, Demetrius, the rightful sovereign of Syria, had been taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians; and Antiochus Sidetes, his brother, levied an army to dispossess the usurper and murderer, Tryphon. In a short time he gained the superiority in the field, and besieged Tryphon in Dora; Simon openly espoused his party; but Antiochus considered his assistance dearly purchased at the price of the independence of Palestine, and above all the possession of the important ports of Gazara and Joppa. Athenobius, his ambassador, sent to demand tribute and indemnification, was struck with astonishment at the riches and splendour of Simon's palace; and on the Jewish sovereign refusing all submission, and only offering a price for the possession of Joppa, Antiochus sent his general, Cendebus, to invade the country. Simon, now grown old, intrusted the command of his forces to his sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus. They, having defeated Cendebus, and taken Azotus, returned crowned with victory. But the Maccabean race seemed destined to perish by violence. Ptolemy, son of Abubus, the son-in-law of Simon, under a secret understanding with Antiochus, king of Syria, formed a conspiracy to usurp the sovereignty of Judæa. At a banquet in Jericho, he contrived basely to assassinate Simon and his elder son; and at the same time endeavoured to surprise the younger, John, in Gazara. But John



inherited the vigour and ability of his family; he eluded the danger, appeared in Jerusalem, and was unanimously proclaimed the High Priest and ruler of the country. His first measure was to march against Jericho to revenge the base murder of his father; but Ptolemy had in his power the mother and brethren of Hyrcanus. He shut himself up in a fortress, and exposed his captives on the walls, scourging them, and threatening to put them to death. The noble-minded woman exhorted her son, notwithstanding her own danger, to revenge his father's murder; but Hyrcanus hesitated; the siege was protracted; and, at length, according to the improbable reason assigned by Josephus, the year being a sabbatic year, entirely raised the siege. Ptolemy fled to Philadelphia, of his subsequent fate we know nothing. The rapid movements of Hyrcanus had disconcerted the confederacy between the assassin and Antiochus. Still, however, the Syrian army overran the whole country, Hyrcanus was besieged in Jerusalem, where he was reduced to the last extremity by famine. But Antiochus proved a moderate and generous enemy; on the feast of Tabernacles, he conceded a week's truce, furnished the besieged with victims for sacrifice, and finally concluded a peace, of which the terms, though hard, were better than Hyrcanus, in the low condition to which he was reduced, could fairly expect. The country was to submit to vassalage under the kings of Syria, tribute was to be paid for Joppa and other towns held by grants from the predecessors of Antiochus, and Jerusalem was dismantled. Four years after, John Hyrcanus was summoned to attend his liege lord on an expedition into Parthia, under the pretence of delivering Demetrius Nicator, brother of the king, formerly possessor of the crown, and long a captive in Parthia. Hyrcanus returned before the defeat, which lost Antiochus his throne and life. Demetrius escaped and

recovered the throne of Antioch. But Hyrcanus seized the opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Syria, and the Jewish kingdom reassumed its independence, which it maintained, until it fell under the Roman dominion. The Syrian kingdom being distracted by rival competitors for the throne, the prudent and enterprising Hyrcanus lost no opportunity of extending his territory and increasing his power. He took Samaga and Medaba, in the Transjordanic region. But his greatest triumph, that which raised him the highest in the opinion of his zealous countrymen, was the capture of Sichem, and the total destruction of the rival temple on Gerizim. It was levelled to the earth, not a vestige remained. For two hundred years this hated edifice had shocked the sight of the pious pilgrim to Jerusalem; now the temple of Jerusalem resumed its dignity as the only sanctuary where the God of their fathers was worshipped, at least within the region of Palestine. The Samaritan temple had always seemed a usurpation upon the peculiar property of the Jewish people in the universal Deity; now they were again undisputed possessors, as of the Divine presence, so they conceived of the Divine protection. Yet, at a more remote distance, another temple had arisen, which excited great jealousy in the more rigid. This was in Egypt, where in fact another nation of Jews had gradually grown up. On the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, a great number of Jews, under Gedaliah, fled to Egypt. Alexander is reported to have encouraged their settlement in his new city of Alexandria by privileges which put them on the same footing with the Macedonians. Ptolemy, founder of the Egypto-Grecian kingdom, transported from Judæa 30,000 families: some he settled in Cyrene, most in Alexandria. During the oppressions of the Syrian kings, many, envying the peaceful and prosperous state of their brethren in Egypt, abandoned Judæa and took refuge

under the protection of the Ptolemies, who, either as useful subjects, or never entirely abandoning their ambitious views on Palestine, uniformly endeavoured to secure the attachment of the Jews. Under the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, as has been stated, Onias, (son of that Onias who was murdered by Menelaus) the rightful heir of the high priesthood, fled into Egypt. He rose high in favour with the king and his queen, Cleopatra; and, being thus deprived of his rightful inheritance, he conceived the design of building a temple for the use of the Egyptian Jews. The king entered into his views, whether to advance his popularity with his Jewish subjects, or to prevent the wealth, which as tribute or offering to the temple, flowed out of his dominions to Jerusalem. He granted to Onias a ruined temple in Leontopolis, in the Heliopolitan nome, and a tract of land for the maintenance of the worship. Both temple and domain remained unviolated till the reign of Vespasian. Onias reconciled his countrymen to this bold innovation by a text in Isaiah (xix, 18, 19). In this passage it is predicted that *there should be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt*; according to the interpretation of Onias, the very place was designated. That which in our translation appears as "the city of destruction," was interpreted, perhaps not inaccurately, the City of the Sun (Heliopolis). Thus then the Jews of Alexandria had divine authority for their temple, and unquestionably the legitimate High Priest as their officiating minister. The Aramean Jews looked on their Egyptian brethren with assumed contempt, but inward jealousy; perhaps the distance only prevented a feud, almost as deadly as that with the Samaritans. Alexandria being the retreat of Grecian learning, the Jews turned their attention to literature, and even to philosophy. But in some respects they were in an unfortunate situation, with great temptations and great facilities to substitute

fiction for truth. They were pressed on all sides, by Egyptians, by Greeks, and by the Aramean Jews. The former denied their antiquity as a nation, and reproached them with the servitude and base condition of their ancestors in Egypt, which they grossly exaggerated; the Greeks treated their national literature with contempt; the rigid Jews could not forgive their adoption of the Greek language and study of Greek letters. The strange legend about the origin of their version of the Scriptures, commonly called the Septuagint, evidently originated in their desire to gain a miraculous sanction for their sacred books, and thus put them in some degree on the same footing with the original Hebrew Scriptures. This work, which probably was executed at different periods, by writers of various abilities and different style, was reported by a certain Aristeas to have been the work of seventy-two translators; deputed by the grand Sanhedrin, at the desire of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who were shut up in separate cells, and each rendered the whole work, word for word, in the same language. The romantic history of the persecution of the Alexandrian Jews, sometimes called the third book of the Maccabees, was apparently compiled with a similar design, to show that they had been exposed, on account of their religion, to equal barbarities with their brethren, endured them with equal courage, and were delivered in a manner equally miraculous. Ptolemy Philopator (or Ptolemy Physcon) for it is not easy to fix a period for the legend, had determined on the extermination of the Jews, unless they would apostatize from their religion. Only 300 consented to this base compliance, the rest were shut up in the Hippodrome to be destroyed by elephants. The king being engaged in a drunken revel, the Jews remained a whole day expecting, yet boldly determined to endure, their miserable fate. When the elephants were let loose, they refused to assail

the Jews, but turned all their fury on the spectators, on whom they committed frightful ravages. We have mentioned these facts as illustrating the character of the Alexandrian Jews; we pass unwillingly over their controversies with the Egyptians and the Greeks, and the curious union of Grecian philosophy with the Jewish religion, which prevailed in their schools, as these subjects belong rather to the history of Jewish literature than that of the Jewish people. The Alexandrian Jews mingled in all the transactions, and attained the highest honours of the state. Onias, who built the temple during the pontificate of Jonathan, filled the most eminent offices in the state and in the army; and at a later period we shall find Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, commanding the armies of Cleopatra.

While Egypt and Syria were desolated by the crimes and the contentions of successive pretenders to their thrones, the state of Judæa enjoyed profound peace under the vigorous administration of Hyrcanus. Having destroyed Sichem, he next turned his forces against Idumea, subjugated the country, compelled the ancient rivals of his subjects to submit to circumcision, and to adopt the Jewish religion: and so completely incorporated the two nations, that the name of Idumea appears no more in history. Hyrcanus maintained a strict alliance with the Romans, and renewed a treaty, offensive and defensive, against their common enemies. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign he determined to reduce the province and city of Samaria to his authority. He intrusted the command of his army to his sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus. The Samaritans implored the protection of Antiochus Cyzicenus, then king of Damascus, who marched to their relief, but suffered a total defeat by the brothers. In conjunction with 6000 Egyptian allies Antiochus made a second attempt to rescue this province from the power of the Jews, but with no

better success. Samaria fell after an obstinate resistance of a whole year; one of the Syrian generals betrayed Scythopolis and other towns to the Jews, and thus Hyrcanus became master of all Samaria and Galilee. The city of Samaria was razed, trenches dug, (the hill on which it stood being full of springs,) and the whole site of the detested city flooded and made a pool of water. But though thus triumphant abroad, Hyrcanus, at the end of his reign, was troubled by serious dissensions at home. Two great religious and political factions divided the state—those of the Pharisees and Sadducees. No part of Jewish history is more obscure than the origin and growth of these two parties. The Maccabees had greatly owed their success to the Chasidim, or righteous. The zeal, and even the fanaticism of this party, had been admirable qualities in the hour of trial and exertion. Austerity is a good discipline for the privations and hardships of war. Undaunted courage, daring enterprise, contempt of death, fortitude in suffering, arose directly out of the leading religious principles of this party—the assurance of Divine protection, and the certainty of another life. Their faith, if it led them to believe too much, and induced them to receive the traditions of their fathers, as of equal authority with the written law and authentic history, made them believe only with the stronger fervour and sincerity all the wonders and glories of their early annals; wonders and glories which they trusted the same Power, in whose cause, and under whose sanction they fought, would renew in their persons. Even their belief in angels, celestial, unseen beings, who ever environed them, to assist their arms and discomfit their enemies, contributed to their confidence and resolution. In this great conflict the hero and the religious enthusiast were one and the same. But those qualities and principles, which made them such valiant and active soldiers in war, when the

pride of success, and conscious possession of power were added; tended to make them turbulent, intractable, and domineering subjects in peace. Those who are most forward in asserting their liberty do not always know how to enjoy it, still less how to concede it to others. Their zeal turned into another channel—the maintenance and propagation of their religious opinions—and flowed as fiercely and violently as before. Themselves austere, they despised all who did not practice the same austerities; earnest in their belief, not only in the law, but every traditional observance, they branded as free-thinkers all whose creed was of greater latitude than their own; and considered it their duty to enforce the same rigid attention, not merely to every letter of the law, but likewise to all their own peculiar observances, which they themselves regarded as necessary, and most scrupulously performed. In every thing as they were the only faithful servants, so they were the delegates and interpreters of God. As God had conquered by them, so he ruled by them; and all their opponents were the enemies of the national constitution, the national religion, and the national Deity. Thus the generous and self-devoted Assideans, or Chasidim, degenerated into the haughty, tyrannical, and censorious Pharisees, the Separatists of the Jewish religion, from *Pharez*, the Hebrew word for to separate, or stand aloof. The better order among the opponents of the Pharisees were the Karaites, strict adherents to the letter of the law, but decidedly rejecting all traditions; the great strength of the party consisted, however, of the Sadducees. The religious doctrines of the Sadducees, it is well known, were directly opposite to those of the Pharisees. The Pharisees were moderate Predestinarians: the Sadducees asserted Free will. The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul and the existence of angels, though their creed on both these subjects was strongly tinged

with Orientalism. The Sadducees denied both. The Pharisees received not merely the Prophets, but the traditional law likewise, as of equal authority with the books of Moses. The Sadducees, if they did not reject, considered the Prophets greatly inferior to the law. The Sadducees are said to have derived their doctrine from Sadoc, the successor of Antigonus Socho in the presidency of the great Sanhedrin. Antigonus taught the lofty doctrine of pure and disinterested love and obedience to God, without regard to punishment or reward. Sadoc is said to have denied the latter, without maintaining the higher doctrine on which it was founded. Still the Sadducees were far from what they are sometimes represented, the teachers of a loose and indulgent Epicureanism; they inculcated the belief in Divine Providence, and the just and certain administration of temporal rewards and punishments. The Pharisees had the multitude, ever led away by extravagant religious pretensions, entirely at their disposal: Sadduceism spread chiefly among the higher orders. It would be unjust to the Sadducees to confound them with that unpatriotic and Hellenized party, which, during the whole of the noble struggles of the Maccabees, sided with the Syrian oppressors, for these are denounced as avowed apostates from Judaism: yet probably, after the establishment of the independent government, the latter might make common cause, and become gradually mingled up with the Sadducean party, as exposed alike to the severities of the Pharisaic administration. During the rest of the Jewish history we shall find these parties as violently opposed to each other, and sometimes causing as fierce and dangerous dissensions, as those which rent the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, or the republican states of modern Europe. It was at the close of his reign that Hyrcanus broke with the Pharisaic party, and openly joined the opposite



faction: a measure, of which the disastrous consequences were not entirely felt till the reign of his son Alexander. The cause of this rupture is singularly characteristic of Jewish manners. During a banquet, at which the chief of the ruling sect were present, Hyrcanus demanded their judgment on his general conduct and administration of affairs, which he professed to have regulated by the great principles of justice, and strict adherence to the tenets of their sect. The Pharisees, with general acclamation, testified their approval of all his proceedings;—one voice alone, that of Eleazar, interrupted the general harmony. "If you are a just man, abandon the High priesthood, for which you are disqualified by the illegitimacy of your birth." The mother of Hyrcanus had formerly, it was said, though, according to Josephus, falsely, been taken captive, and thus exposed to the polluting embraces of a heathen master. The indignant Hyrcanus demanded the trial of Eleazar for defamation. By the influence of the Pharisees he was shielded, and escaped with scourging and imprisonment. Hyrcanus, enraged at this unexpected hostility, listened to the representations of Jonathan, a Sadducee, who accused the rival faction of a conspiracy to overawe the sovereign power; and from that time he entirely alienated himself from their councils. This able prince reigned for twenty-nine years; he built the castle of Baris on a rock within the fortifications which surrounded the hill of the temple, on the north-west corner of which it stood. It afterward became the Antonia of Herod.

Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, succeeded: his reign, though brief, was long enough for much crime, and much misery. His mother, by the will of Hyrcanus, claimed the sovereignty; he threw her into a dungeon, and starved her to death. The fate of his brother, Antigonus, will immediately appear: the other three of his brethren were kept in close

imprisonment. Soon after assuming the diadem, the new king made a successful expedition, and subdued Iturea, a district at the foot of Anti-Libanus, afterward called Auranitis. He returned, suffering under a dangerous malady. His brother, Antigonus, as he entered Jerusalem, having completed the conquest, hastened, all armed as he was, with his soldiers, to pay his devotions in the temple. This innocent act was misrepresented by the queen and the harem of Aristobulus as covering a treacherous design. Aristobulus sent to command his brother to attend him unarmed. His treacherous enemies, instead of this message, delivered one commanding him to come with some very splendid armour, which his brother wished to see. The guards were posted; and Antigonus, appearing in arms, was assassinated in the subterranean gallery which led from the temple to the palace of Baris. Aristobulus, seized with agonizing compunction for his crime, vomited blood. The slave, who bore the vessel away, happened to stumble on the very spot where Antigonus had been slain, and the blood of the two brothers mingled on the pavement. A cry of horror ran through the palace. The king, having extorted from the reluctant attendants the dreadful cause, was seized with such an agony of remorse and horror, that he expired.

Alexander Jannæus, the next in succession, assumed the throne; a feeble attempt was made by his younger brother to usurp his place, but he was seized and put to death. Alexander was an enterprising rather than a successful prince; and it was perhaps fortunate for the kingdom of Judæa that the adjacent states were weakened by dissension and mutual hostility. Egypt was governed by Cleopatra, widow of Ptolemy Physcon; Cyprus by Ptolemy Lathyrus, her eldest son, and most deadly enemy. The Syrian monarchy was shared by Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Oyzicenus: one

held his court at Antioch, the other at Damascus. The Jews possessed the whole region of Palestine, except the noble port of Ptolemais; Dora and the tower of Straton were in the hands of Zoilus, who owned a sort of allegiance to Syria. Gaza was likewise independent of the Jewish government. The first object of Alexander was to reduce all these cities. He formed the siege of Ptolemais. The inhabitants sent to demand relief from Ptolemy Lathyrus, but after the Cyprian king had levied an army of 30,000 men, dreading the loss of their independence, they refused to admit him into their gates. Ptolemy turned on the dominions of Zoilus, and on Gaza. Alexander entered into negotiations with Ptolemy for the friendly surrender of those places, and at the same time with Cleopatra for a large force to expel the king of Cyprus from Palestine. Ptolemy, detecting the double intrigue, marched into Judæa, took Asôchis near the Jordan on the Sabbath, ravaged the country, and (by the assistance of an expert tactician, Philostephanus) totally defeated Alexander, with the loss of 30,000 men, pursued his ravages, and, to spread the terror of his name, is said to have practised most abominable cruelties. Having surprised a village full of women and children, he ordered them to be hewn in pieces, and cast into caldrons, as if to be boiled; so that the horror of this invasion of cannibals spread throughout the whole country. The kingdom of Judæa was lost, but for a great army of Egyptians under the command of Cheleias and Ananias, two Alexandrian Jews. Lathyrus retreated into Cœle-Syria: part of Cleopatra's army pursued him, part formed the siege of Ptolemais. Lathyrus determined on the bold measure of marching into Egypt: he was repelled, and retreated to Gaza. Ptolemais fell: and Alexander came to congratulate the Queen of Egypt on her victory. Cleopatra was strongly urged to seize the prince. and thus make herself mistress of

Indata: the remonstrances of Ananias dissuaded her from this breach of faith. The Cypriot and Egyptian armies being withdrawn, Alexander resumed his sovereignty; but his restless disposition involved him in new wars, with no better success. He invaded the country east of the Jordan, took Gadara, but was totally defeated before Amathus, which he had plundered of the treasures of Theodorus, prince of Philadelphia. The indefatigable monarch next fell upon the territory of Gaza, took Raphia and Anthedon, and, although constrained to raise the siege of Gaza by a descent of Lathyrus, he formed it again the next year. Gaza made an obstinate resistance. At one time the besieger had nearly lost his whole army by a desperate sally, but at length the commander of the garrison, Apollodotus, having been slain by treachery, it surrendered. Alexander at first seemed inclined to mercy, but, before long, let loose his troops to revenge themselves on the town. The inhabitants took up arms; but, after a considerable loss, the conqueror succeeded in totally dismantling and destroying this ancient city, and left it a heap of ruins. But the most dangerous enemies of Alexander were at home. The Pharisaic faction had the populace at their command; and at the feast of Tabernacles, while he was officiating as the king and High Priest, a mutiny arose; the mob pelted him with citrons, reproached him with the baseness of his descent, and denied his right to the priesthood. Alexander commanded his troops to fall on the unarmed multitude, and slew 6000. To prevent these insults in future, Alexander raised a wooden partition between the court of the priests and that of the people; and, to awe the insurgents, raised a body guard of foreign mercenaries, chiefly Pisidians and Cilicians. He then, a second time, invaded the country east of Jordan, reduced it to pay tribute, took Amathus, but again suffered a total defeat by Orodes, king of

Arabia. The Jews seized the opportunity to rise in rebellion, and for six years the country suffered all the horrors of civil war. Alexander at first met with great success; but when he endeavoured to bring the mutineers to terms, they cried out with one voice, that they would yield only on one condition, that he would put himself to death. At length, pressed on all sides, the insurgents demanded the assistance of Demetrius Eucharus, one of the kings of Syria. Alexander, always unfortunate in battle, was routed, with the loss of all his 6000 mercenaries, and many other of his troops. He fled to the mountains; but a sudden revulsion of popular feeling took place in his favour, and he found himself at the head of 60,000 men. Demetrius retreated, and Alexander, master of the whole country, besieged his enemies in Bethome, took the city, and marched to Jerusalem in triumph. His vengeance was signal and terrible. He publicly crucified 800, and slew their wives and children before their faces. From this atrocity he was named the Thracian. Of the disaffected, 8000 abandoned the city; but, under his iron sway, the whole country remained at peace during the rest of his reign. His foreign policy at this period was equally vigorous, and the kingdom of the Jews at his death comprehended the coast from the tower of Straton to Rhinocorura, Idumea, Samaria, and considerable provinces to the east of the Jordan. On the fourth year, after his triumph over the insurgents, Alexander Jannæus was seized with a mortal malady; a turbulent and rebellious kingdom, and newly-conquered provinces, were not likely to submit to the feeble authority of women and children. The dying king summoned his wife Alexandra, and strongly urged, as the only means of preserving the kingdom, that on his death she should throw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party, powerful on account of their numbers and turbulence, and still more from having the people entirely

under their direction. Thus, after an unquiet and eventful reign of twenty-seven years, Alexander Jannæus died. His widow Alexandra immediately adopted the policy, which he had suggested, and threw the administration into the hands of the Pharisees. The change was immediate; the greatest honours were paid to the remains of the unpopular Jannæus, and the high priesthood conferred on his eldest son, Hyrcanus II.

During the whole reign of Alexandra, the wisdom, or rather the imperious necessity of her husband's dying admonition, became more manifest; the throne stood secure, the whole land, says Josephus, was at rest, except the Pharisees, who began to execute dreadful reprisals upon their former adversaries. Having strengthened their party by a general release of prisoners and recall of exiles, they began their attack on Diogenes, a favourite of the late king. They next demanded public justice on all who had been accessory to the execution of the 800 who were crucified. Alexandra, unable to resist, was compelled to submit; but her second son, Aristobulus, a man of daring ambition and intrigue, seized the opportunity of placing himself at the head of the party, which, though now oppressed, was still powerful. They appealed to the justice, as well as to the mercy of the queen, and remonstrated on the ingratitude of abandoning the faithful adherents of her husband to the vengeance of their enemies. She adopted a measure, intended to secure them, without offending the Pharisees; they were allowed to leave Jerusalem, and were enrolled as the garrisons of the frontier cities. To employ the restless mind of her son Aristobulus, she sent him, with a considerable army, under the pretence of checking the depredations of Ptolemy, who ruled a small independent kingdom at Chalcis, but with the secret design of seizing Damascus. Aristobulus succeeded both in the object contemplated by his mother and in his own; he got

possession of Damascus, and strongly attached the army to his person. After a prosperous reign of nine years, Alexandra fell sick and died; a woman of a masculine understanding and energy of character. Before her decease Aristobulus secretly fled from Jerusalem, put himself at the head of the army, summoned all the frontier garrisons, which were composed of his own party, to his assistance, and immediately, upon the death of his mother, advanced rapidly towards Jerusalem. The Pharisaic party, with Hyrcanus at their head, seized as hostages the wife and children of Aristobulus, and hastily raising their forces, met the invader at Jericho. But the affections of the army were centred in the bold and enterprising Aristobulus; a great part deserted, the rest were discomfited, the younger brother entered Jerusalem, the elder was besieged in the palace of Baris; till at length the mild and indolent Hyrcanus consented to yield up the sovereignty, and retire, perhaps to the happier station, of a private man. The blow was fatal to the Pharisaic party. But an enemy remained, whose descendants were to be more dangerous opponents to the Asmonean house even than the Pharisees. Antipater, the father of Herod, an Idumean of noble birth, was the son of Antipas, who had been governor of that province under Alexander Jannæus. Antipater had acquired great influence over the feeble mind of Hyrcanus, as his chief minister. He had every prospect of enjoying all but the name of a sovereign. He ill brooked the annihilation of his ambitious hopes by the conquest of Aristobulus. At length, after long working on the fears of Hyrcanus, as if his life were in danger, he persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the King of Arabia. This kingdom had silently grown up to considerable power; Petra, its capital, had become the great emporium of the commerce through the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Aretas marched a host of 50,000 men against Aristobulus; the capri-

cious army of the Jews wavered; Aristobulus suffered a defeat, and fled to Jerusalem. There, abandoned likewise by the people, he shut himself up in the temple, where the priests prepared for defence. He was vigorously pressed by Aretas, Antipater, and Hyrcanus. During this siege two characteristic circumstances took place. An old man, named Onias, had the fame of having prayed for rain during a drought, and rain had immediately fallen. The party of Hyrcanus brought him out to employ his powerful prayers against Aristobulus. The patriotic old man knelt down, and uttered these words:—"O God, the King of the Universe, since on one side are thy people; on the other thy priests, I beseech thee hear not the prayers of either to the detriment of the other." The cruel and infatuated populace stoned him to death. The second occurrence was as follows. The Passover drew near, and there were no victims in the temple for sacrifice. The besieged entered into an agreement that, on payment of a certain price, lambs should be furnished for the great national offering. They let baskets down the walls, but the perfidious besiegers took the money, and sent up the baskets empty, or, as the Rabbins relate with the deepest horror, loaded with swine.

An unexpected deliverer at length appeared; a military officer of that haughty republic which had been steadily pursuing its way to universal dominion; and now, having trampled under foot the pride and strength of the great Asiatic monarchies, assumed a right of interfering in the affairs of every independent kingdom. Scaurus, the lieutenant of Pompey, had seized Damascus; the competitors for the Jewish throne endeavoured to outbid each other for his protection. Aristobulus offered 400 talents—Hyrcanus the same. The rapacious Roman hesitated; but Aristobulus was in possession of the public treasures of the temple, and therefore most



likely to make good his terms. Scaurus sent an order to Aretas to break up the siege: the Arabian complied. The enterprising Aristobulus, hastily collecting troops, fell unexpectedly on his rear, and gave him a signal defeat.

In a short time, Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Kings crowded from all sides to pay homage and to conciliate, with splendid presents, the greatest subject of the republic. The present of the king of Egypt was a gold crown, worth 4000 pieces of gold; that of Aristobulus a golden vine, worth 400 talents. After a short absence in Pontus, Pompey returned, and the ambassadors of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus appeared before the tribunal of their master; the wily Antipater on the part of Hyrcanus—on that of Aristobulus a certain Nicodemus, who had so little address, as to complain of the extortions of the Roman commanders, Scaurus and Gabinius. Pompey appointed a solemn hearing of the cause for the next spring, and accordingly, at that time the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, of Aristobulus, and of the Jewish people, stood before his tribunal. The latter began the charge against both the brothers: they had usurped (it was urged) an authority which belonged solely to the High Priests, introduced a kingly despotism, and reduced a free people to servitude. The ambassador of Hyrcanus pleaded his superior title as the elder born; accused Aristobulus of not merely usurping the throne of his brother, and degrading him to a private station, but of committing wanton depredations by land, and piracies by sea, on all the neighbouring states. On the part of Aristobulus, the total incapacity of Hyrcanus was strongly pressed; his own pretensions to power were limited to that enjoyed by his father Alexander. But Pompey had a greater object in view than the settlement of Judæa—the subjugation of Arabia, with the seizure of Petra and its trade. He dismissed both

parties with great civility, particularly Aristobulus, who had the power of impeding his designs. Aristobulus, suspecting the goodness of his own cause, endeavoured to put the country in a state of defence; but Pompey, on his return from Arabia, began to assume a higher tone. He collected his forces and marched directly into Judæa. He found Aristobulus shut up in a strong citadel on a rock called Alexandrion. Aristobulus attempted to negotiate; twice he descended from his place of security to hold a conference with Pompey: the third time Pompey forced him to sign written orders for the surrender of all his fortresses. The bold and enterprising spirit of Aristobulus could not brook the disgrace of submission; too high-minded to yield, too weak to resist, his conduct shows a degree of irresolution and vacillation, which it is more just to attribute to the difficulty of his situation, than to want of vigour in his character. He fled to Jerusalem, and prepared for resistance. Pompey advanced to Jericho, where the Romans were struck with admiration at the beautiful palm-groves and gardens of balsam-shrubs, which, originally the growth of Arabia, flourished in that district with great luxuriance: their produce had become an important article of trade. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided to make effectual resistance, met him, and offered a large sum of money, and the surrender of the capital. Gabinius was sent forward to take possession of the city, but the bolder party, meantime, had gained the ascendancy, and he found the gates closed and the walls manned. Indignant at this apparent treachery, Pompey threw the king into chains, and advanced in person on Jerusalem. The party of Hyrcanus were superior in the city, and immediately received the invader with open arms. The soldiery of Aristobulus took possession of the temple, and, with the priesthood, cut off all the

bridges and causeways which communicated with the town, and prepared for an obstinate defence. The hill of the temple, precipitous on three sides, was impregnable, except from the north. On that side Pompey made his approaches, where nevertheless there was a rapid descent, flanked by lofty towers. Notwithstanding the arrival of military engines from Tyre, this holy citadel held out for three months, and was only lost through the superstitious observance of the Sabbath. The Maecanean relaxation of this law only provided for actual self-defence; the Romans soon perceived that they might carry on their works without disturbance on that day. They regularly, therefore, suspended their assault, but employed the time in drawing the engines near the walls, filling up the trenches, and in other labours, which they carried on without the least impediment. At the end of the three months, one of the battering engines threw down the largest of the towers; Cornelius Faustus, a son of Sylla, mounted the breach, and, after an obstinate resistance and great loss of life, the Romans remained masters of the temple. During the assault, the priests had been employed in the daily sacrifice: unmoved by the terror, and confusion, and carnage around, they calmly continued their office; many of them were slain, many of the more zealous defenders of the temple threw themselves headlong down the precipices. The conduct of the Roman general excited at once the horror and admiration of the Jews. He entered the temple, surveyed every part, and even penetrated and profaned with his heathen presence the Holy of Holies, into which the High Priest entered only once a year. Great was his astonishment to find this mysterious sanctuary entirely empty, with no statue, or form or symbol of the Deity, to whom it was consecrated. In the other parts he found immense riches—the golden table and candlesticks, a great store of precious

frankincense, and 2000 talents in the treasury. All these, with generosity not less noble because it was politic, he left untouched—commanded the temple to be purified from the carnage of his soldiers—nominated Hyrcanus to the priesthood, though without the royal diadem: then, having appointed the stipulated tribute which the country was to pay—demolished the walls of the city—and limited the dominions of Hyrcanus to Judæa—he departed, carrying with him Aristobulus, his two sons and two daughters, as prisoners to Rome. Alexander, the elder son, on the journey, made his escape; but the Jewish king and his other son adorned the splendid triumph of the conqueror. The magnanimity of Pompey, in respecting the treasures of the temple, could not obliterate the deeper impression of hatred excited by his profanation of the sacred precincts. The Jews beheld with satisfaction the decline of Pompey's fortune, which commenced from this period, and attributed it entirely to his sacrilegious impiety. Throughout the world they embraced the party of Cæsar, fortunate, inasmuch as the course they followed from blind passion, conduced eventually to their real interests, and obtained them important privileges and protection from the imperial house.

Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, inherited the daring and active courage of his father; he soon gathered a considerable force, and garrisoned Machaerus, Hyrcania, and the strong fort of Alexandrion. Hyrcanus hastily summoned the Romans to his assistance; Gabinius entered Judæa, and, having defeated Alexander, for the Jews could make no great stand in the open field, he besieged him in Alexandrion. While the siege lasted, to secure the affections of the provinces, he commanded many of the cities, which the Asmoneans had destroyed, to be rebuilt—Samaria, Dora, Scythopolis, Gaza, and other towns. In the mean time, the mother of

Alexander, who had always espoused the Roman party, by her interest with Gabinus brought about a treaty, in which Alexander received an amnesty for his insurrection, on condition of surrendering his fortresses. No sooner was he subdued, than Aristobulus himself and his younger son, having escaped from Rome, raised again the standard of revolt, but with worse fortune; for, though many of the Jews deserted to his banner, and he had time to refortify Alexandrion, he was taken, after being severely wounded, and sent back in chains to Rome. The interest of the mother procured the intercession of Gabinus for the release of her son Antigonus, which was granted by the senate. Aristobulus remained a prisoner. Gabinus, in the interval between these insurrections, reorganized the whole government of the country; he deprived the High Priest of the royal authority, and established five independent senates or sanhedrins, according to the form of the great Sanhedrin of seventy-one, which perhaps had existed from the captivity. The places where the sanhedrins sat, were Jerusalem, Jericho, Gadara, Amâthus, and Sepphoris. This form of government lasted till Julius Cæsar re-invested Hyrcanus with the supreme dignity. Gabinus, with Mark Antony as his master of the horse, who had signalized his valour during three campaigns, now determined on the conquest of Egypt; but scarcely had he drawn off his troops from Syria, when the restless Alexander appeared again in arms, and drove the few remaining Romans into a strong position on Mount Gerizim, where he besieged them. On the return of Gabinus he had the courage to meet him, at the head of 80,000 men, in the open field, near Mount Tabor; but the irresistible Roman discipline bore all before it, and the Jewish prince was obliged to take flight.

It was singular, and the fact strongly tended to confirm the Jews in their conviction that they were under the especial protection of the Almighty, that

the worst enemies of their nation seemed marked for disaster and disgrace. Gabinius no sooner returned to Rome, than he was ignominiously banished for his rapacity and malversations. The fate of Crassus in Parthia followed almost immediately on his sacrilegious plunder of the Jewish temple. When this rapacious triumvir entered Jerusalem on his way to that fatal expedition, the High Priest, Eleazar, attempted to appease his avarice by the surrender of a bar of gold, of immense value, concealed within a hollow beam of wood, known only to himself. This offering only whetted the appetite of Crassus; he pillaged without remorse all that Pompey had spared, even the sacred treasures, and all that had since accumulated;—for the Jews, now spread throughout almost all the world, made it a part of religion to send an annual contribution for the service of the temple. This sum was so large, even in Italy, that Cicero, in his oration in defence of Flaccus, seems to urge the wisdom of a similar measure to that adopted by his client in Asia Minor, a prohibition of the practice, as draining the Roman provinces of their wealth. Hence the plunder of Crassus from the temple of Jerusalem, estimated at 10,000 talents, according to Prideaux near two millions of money, though perhaps exaggerated, may not be so remote from truth.

During the great civil war, the fate of Judæa, like that of the world, hung in trembling suspense. Cæsar, master of Rome, sent Aristobulus an order to create a diversion in the province of Palestine. The partisans of Pompey contrived to poison the ill-fated monarch; and Scipio publicly executed his gallant son Alexander at Antioch. Thus Hyrcanus, or rather Antipater under his name, retained the sovereignty. After the death of Pompey, in that romantic war, which Cæsar, delaying to assume the empire of the universe, waged in Egypt in favour of Cleopatra, the prudent Antipater rendered him

essential service. He facilitated the march of Mithridates, his ally, to his relief, and contributed to the reduction of Pelusium; conciliated the Egyptian Jews, who had espoused the opposite party, and greatly distinguished himself in an important battle. His reward was the full re-establishment of Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood; for himself, the rights of Roman citizenship, and the appointment of procurator over the whole of Judæa. The first care of the new government was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; but before long, Antipater, still farther presuming on the incapacity of Hyrcanus, and the protection of the Romans, appointed his elder son Phasael to the government of Jerusalem, and the younger Herod to that of Galilee. Herod began immediately to develop his natural decision and severity of character. He seized a notorious captain of banditti, Hezekiah, who had been the terror of the whole country, and put him to death, with almost the whole of his band. The leading Jews, jealous of the Idumean influence, persuaded the feeble Hyrcanus, that the execution of these robbers without trial was an infringement of the law. Herod was summoned to Jerusalem, to answer for his offence. He appeared in arms before the affrighted Sanhedrin; not a voice was raised against him, till at last Sameas, a man of high integrity, rose and rebuked him for appearing, not in the humble garb of a criminal, but thus clad in purple and armour. To the honour of Herod, when subsequently he slew the whole Sanhedrin, he spared the life of Sameas. The timid Hyrcanus adjourned the trial, and sent secret intimation to Herod to escape. He took refuge at Damascus with Sextus Cæsar, in whose favour he rose with great rapidity, and obtained, by means of a bribe, the military command of Coele-Syria. He then advanced against Jerusalem, but by the intervention of his father Antipater, withdrew his forces. After the death of

Cæsar, Cassius assumed the administration of Syria. Judæa was heavily oppressed by his rapacity; though Antipater and his sons undertook, with Malichus, a powerful Jew, the collection of the tribute, so severe were the exactions, that the whole population of some towns were sold as slaves; and Malichus himself would not have escaped the resentment of Cassius, had not Hyrcanus defrayed the deficiency in his accounts. The dexterous Herod contrived to insinuate himself into the favour of Cassius; but Malichus, head of the Jewish faction, seized the opportunity to undermine the Idumean influence in Jerusalem. He contrived to poison Antipater, but at the same time to exculpate himself from all participation in the crime. By the advice of his cautious brother, Phasael, Herod dissembled his vengeance; till, at length, after much subtle intrigue on both sides, he got Malichus into his power, and caused him to be murdered. Cassius had protected Herod; but no sooner had he left Syria, than the adverse faction rallied, Felix, the Roman commander in Jerusalem, taking their side; but they were suppressed by the vigour of Phasael. A new enemy arose in the person of Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, who, with his brother-in-law the king of Chalcis, advanced into Galilee. They were repulsed and defeated by Herod. In the mean time, the fate of the world was decided at Philippi. Herod, ever a dexterous worshipper of the rising sun, hastened to render his allegiance, and, knowing the character of the man, made acceptable offerings in the shape of large sums of money, to the victorious Mark Antony. Henceforth the Roman was deaf to the complaints of Herod's enemies; he issued several edicts favourable to Hyrcanus and the nation in general, particularly commanding the liberation of those Jews whom Cassius had sold for slaves, but appointed Phasael and Herod tetrarchs of the province.



An unexpected enemy arose, to trouble again the peace of Judæa. At this juncture, the Parthians under Pacorus, the king's son, entered Syria, and Asia Minor, and overran the whole region. A part of their army, under Barzapharnes, took possession of Cœle-Syria. Antigonus, the last remaining branch of the Asmonean race, determined to risk his fortune on the desperate hazard of Parthian protection; he offered 1000 talents and 500 Jewish women—a strange compact—as the price of his restoration to the Jewish kingdom. Antigonus, himself, raised a considerable native power, and entered Judæa, followed by Pacorus, the cup-bearer of the king, who had the same name with the king's son. Antigonus fought his way to Jerusalem, and by means of his party, entered the city. Jerusalem was torn asunder by the contending factions; and the multitudes who came up at the feast of Pentecost, adopting different parties, added to the fierce hostility, and mutual slaughter. The Antigoniens held the temple, the Hyrcanians the palace, and daily contests taking place, the streets ran with blood. Antigonus at length invidiously proposed to submit their mutual differences to the arbitration of Pacorus, the Parthian general. Phasael weakly consented, and Pacorus, admitted within the town, prevailed on the infatuated Phasael, to undertake a journey with Hyrcanus, and submit the cause to Barzapharnes the commander-in-chief. He set forth on this ill-fated expedition, and was at first received with courtesy: the plan of the Parthians being to abstain from violence, till they had seized Herod, who, having vainly remonstrated with his brother on his imprudence, remained in the city. But the crafty Herod, receiving warning from his brother, whose suspicions had been too late awakened, fled with the female part of the family towards Masada. The journey was extremely dangerous, and at one time Herod, in despair, had almost attempted his own life. At Masada, a strong fortress

on the western shore of the Dead Sea, he received succours brought by his brother Joseph from Idumea; him he left in command at Masada, and retired himself into Arabia; from thence to Egypt, and at length to Rome. In the mean time Hyrcanus and Phasaël had been made prisoners; the former, Antigonus not wishing to put him to death, was incapacitated for ever from the office of High Priest, by the mutilation of his ears. Phasaël anticipated the executioner by beating his brains out against the wall of his prison.

Notwithstanding their alliance with Antigonus, who assumed the sovereignty, the Parthians plundered the city, and ravaged the country; Herod, however, prospered in Rome, beyond his most ambitious hopes; his design had been to set up the claim of Aristobulus, the brother of the beautiful Mariamne to whom he was betrothed. This youth united the titles both of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, being the son of Alexander the elder son of the latter, by the daughter of the former. But Augustus and Antony united in conferring the crown of Judæa on Herod himself. Herod was not a man to decline, or not to make the most of the favours of fortune; he wasted no time in the courtly circle, or in the luxuries of Rome. In seven days he despatched all his business, returned to his ships at Brundisium, and, after an absence of scarcely three months, landed at Ptolemais. The city of Masada, in which his brother and his beautiful bride were shut up, was his first object; the Parthians had broken up on the advance of the Roman general Ventidius, and left Antigonus to defend himself as well as he could. Antigonus had almost reduced Masada, which but for a timely rain which filled the water tanks, was reduced to the greatest extremity from drought. Herod speedily raised a force, united with some Roman auxiliaries under Silo, overran Galilee, relieved Masada, and sat down before Jerusalem. Silo

was a man equally perfidious and rapacious; by assisting both parties, he enriched himself. Hitherto he had befriended Herod, now under pretext of a mutiny among his soldiers for want of provisions, he broke up the siege of Jerusalem, pillaged Jericho, and retired into winter quarters. Herod, unable with his own forces to undertake the invasion of Judæa, fixed his head quarters at Samaria, and employed his time in reducing Galilee, then infested by bands of daring robbers, who dwelt in caves among the wild and craggy mountainous districts of Upper Galilee. A great number he drove beyond Jordan, the rest he surprised in their dens. Chests full of armed men were let down by windlasses from the precipices above the caves; when they were thus landed at the mouths of the caves, the soldiers transfixed those they could reach with harpoons, and finally set fire to the caves. One desperate old man slew his wife, and children, threw them down the precipice, and dashed himself after them.

The next year the campaign against Antigonus was renewed, the Roman auxiliaries, two legions and 1000 horse, were under the command of Machæras. Machæras being repulsed from the walls of Jerusalem, revenged the affront on the Jewish followers of Herod, who retreated to Samaria, and from thence departed to Samosata to pay his homage and lodge his complaints before Antony, who was engaged in the siege of that city. Joseph, his brother, was left in command in Judæa, with strict injunction not to risk a battle; he disobeyed, was routed and slain. Herod, on his return, revenged his death by the total discomfiture of Pappus, the general of Antigonus. In the spring of the next year he formed the regular siege of Jerusalem; during the siege he returned to Samaria to consummate his marriage with Mariamne, and having thus formed an intimate connexion with the line of the Asmonean princes, he hastened to secure his throne by the conquest of the capital.

Jerusalem held out for above half-a-year; the Romans under Sosius, furious at the obstinate resistance, after the capture gave loose to all their revengeful cruelty and rapaciousness. It was only through the interference of Herod, who bitterly expostulated on the indignity of leaving him king not of a noble city, but of a desert, that the whole town escaped destruction. He exerted himself with no less energy and success in preventing the heathen soldiers from penetrating into the holy places; with his characteristic sagacity, never overlooking an opportunity of working either on the popular feeling, or on that of his Roman confederates, for his own advantage. Antigonus craved his life in a mean and abject manner from Sosius, to whom he had surrendered. The stern Roman treated his unmanly weakness with contempt, called him by the feminine name Antigone, not Antigonus, and sent him in chains to Antony, where, at the solicitation of Herod, he was put to death by the barbarous and insulting stroke of the common lictor.

## BOOK XI.

## HEROD.

*Accession—Battle of Actium—Death of Mariamne—Magnificence of Herod—Sebaste built—Rebuilding of the Temple—Cæsarea—Sons of Mariamne—Death of Antipater—Death of Herod.*

Thus Herod the Great, the last independent sovereign of Palestine, became master of his dominions. So far his career had been marked with uncommon ability, nor had it been disgraced by unusual atrocity. With signal penetration he had eluded the arts, by the rapidity and decision of his measures triumphed over the open hostility of his antagonists; by his knowledge of the Roman character, and that of the successive extraordinary individuals who had held the destiny of the world at their command, he had secured not merely their protection, but their friendship. Still his situation was difficult and precarious; it demanded his utmost dexterity and vigour, and unhappily gave him the tyrant's plea of necessity for the most relentless cruelties. The mass of the people were still ardently attached to the great Asmonean family; the faction of Antigonus was strong in Jerusalem. Against the latter he proceeded without scruple, put to death forty-five of the chiefs, and confiscated all their property. The whole Sanhedrin fell victims to his vengeance, excepting Sameas (Shammai) and Pollio. The two latter, during the siege, had endeavoured to persuade the city to capitulate. The rest had raised the popular cry—"The Temple of the Lord! the Temple of the Lord!" and excited a strong enthusiasm against the alien from the blood of Israel. The appointment to the office of High Priest caused the greatest embarrassment. The nation would never

have endured the usurpation of that office by an Idumean stranger. Hyrcanus, the old patron of the Herodian family, returned from his honourable captivity in Parthia; he was received with every mark of outward respect by Herod, but the mutilation of his ears by Antigonius disqualified him for reinstatement in his office. Herod invited an obscure individual of the lineage of the High Priest, Ananel, from Babylon. Alexandra, the widow of that gallant Alexander, the son of Aristobulus, who was executed by Scipio, beheld this choice with secret indignation. She was a high-minded and ambitious woman; the marriage of her daughter Mariamne to Herod, aggravated rather than palliated the indignity of excluding her son, the rightful heir of both the Asmonean families, from the priesthood. Unscrupulous as to her means of vengeance, she sent the pictures of her two children, a son and daughter, both of exquisite beauty, to Antony, in order, by this unnatural and odious measure, to work on the passions of the voluptuous Triumvir. Herod was seized with apprehension, changed at once his policy, displaced Ananel, and installed the young Aristobulus in the pontificate. But mistrust and hatred had taken too deep root. Alexandra was detected in a secret correspondence with Cleopatra; and a plan which she had formed to fly with her son to the court of Egypt, was only disconcerted by the excessive vigilance of Herod. Worse than all this, when the lovely boy of seventeen, the heir of their rightful princes, appeared before the assembled nation at the feast of Tabernacles, in the splendid costume of the High Priest, and performing his solemn office with the most perfect grace, the popular feeling was too evident to be mistaken. Herod saw that his own suspicions were sadly verified, he had raised up a dangerous rival to his power in the young Asmonean. He dissembled his jealousy, and joined in the general admiration; but, contriving

shortly after to remove the youth to Jericho, he caused him to be drowned by his companions while bathing in a pool. He assumed great grief on the melancholy event, and attempted to divert the popular indignation by a splendid funeral. But the people were not deceived, still less the heart of the bereaved and wretched parent. Alexandra sent intelligence of the murder to Cleopatra, who espoused her cause with the warmest interest of a woman and a mother; not without some secret suggestion from her ambition, which had already begun to look towards Judæa as a valuable province of Egypt. Antony was at the height of his devotion to the luxurious queen: the ruin of Herod seemed inevitable. With his characteristic boldness he determined to try the effect of his personal presence, which might awaken early friendship, and give weight to those more powerful arguments, the immense bribes, with which he hoped to secure his cause. He left Jerusalem under the government of his uncle Joseph; he intrusted to his care not merely his interests, but his incomparable Mariamne. He went, certainly, to danger, perhaps to death, and, with a strange jealousy, he could not endure that any one should possess his wife even after his death, least of all the licentious Antony. He left a secret charge with Joseph, that if he should fail in his mission, Mariamne was to be immediately put to death. During his absence, the incautious Joseph betrayed this secret order to Mariamne; her mother excited her to revenge. A sudden rumour spread abroad that Herod had been slain by Antony. Alexandra and Mariamne began to take immediate measures for securing the authority, but intelligence of an opposite nature frustrated their plans. On the return of Herod, his sister Salome, wounded at the haughtiness with which she had ever been treated by the proud Asmonean princess, endeavoured to poison his mind with suspicions of his

wife, whom she accused of too intimate correspondence with Joseph the governor. Yet the beauty of Mariamne, once seen, overpowered every emotion but that of unbounded love. Unhappily, in the transport of tender reconciliation, Mariamne asked whether if he had really loved her, he would have given that fatal order for her death. Herod sprang from her arms in fury. The betrayal of this secret warranted his worst suspicions; it could not have been yielded up but at the price of her honour. He would have slain her on the spot, but her beauty, even then, disarmed him: his whole vengeance fell on Joseph and Alexandra. The first he executed, the second he imprisoned with every mark of insult. Cleopatra, in the mean time, having been unable to extort the gift of Judæa from her paramour, was obliged to content herself with the balsam gardens near Jericho. On her return from accompanying Antony in his campaign to the Euphrates, she entered Jerusalem, and Herod was in as great danger from her love as from her hate. Whether from prudence or dislike, he repelled her advances, and even entertained some thoughts of delivering both himself from a dangerous neighbour, and Antony from a fatal and imperious mistress, by her assassination. His friends dissuaded him from the hazardous measure. A short time after, he found himself engaged in a war, which he entered into with the ostensible design of enforcing Cleopatra's right of tribute over Malchus, king of Arabia. By complying with the wishes of Antony on this point, the dexterous politician escaped taking any prominent part in the great war between the eastern and western world, which was to award the empire to Antony or Octavius. In his first invasion of Arabia he was unsuccessful, and met with so signal a defeat, that he was constrained to change the war into one of sudden irruptions into the border of the enemy, without risking a battle. A more tremendous blow



fell on Judæa,—an earthquake, which threw down many cities and destroyed 30,000 lives. The Arabs seized the opportunity of this disaster, and put the Jewish ambassadors to death; but this conduct enabled Herod to rouse the national spirit, and the Arabians, defeated with the loss of 5,000 men, were besieged in their camp. Many surrendered from want of water; the rest made a desperate but fatal sally, in which 7,000 more perished.

Still, though not personally engaged in the battle of Actium, Herod had reason to apprehend the triumph of Octavius Cæsar. Having secured every thing at home, he determined to meet the youthful conqueror at Rhodes. While one remnant of the Asmonean race survived, his throne was less secure; and the old Hyrcanus, now eighty years of age, at length paid the last penalty for having unhappily been born to a lofty station, for which he was unfit. The documents in the royal archives of Herod, accused the poor old man of having been persuaded, by his intriguing daughter Alexandra, into a treasonable correspondence with the Arabian king; other accounts ascribe the invention of the plot to Herod. At all events, it was fatal to Hyrcanus, who thus closed a life of extraordinary vicissitude, borne with constitutional indolence, by a violent death. This done, Herod committed the government to his brother Pheroras; sent his mother, sister, and children to Masada; and committed Mariamne and her mother to the charge of his faithful partisans, Soemus and Joseph, in the fortress of Alexandrion, with the same extraordinary injunctions which he had before left, that, in case of his death, Mariamne should be despatched. He then set sail for Rhodes. He appeared before the conqueror, without the diadem, but with all the dignity of an independent sovereign. He addressed him in a speech, which, disdaining apology, enlarged on his obligations, and avowed his attachment, to Antony. He declared

that, as a friend, he had given him the best advice; such advice as might have made him again formidable to Cæsar; he had begged him to put Cleopatra to death, and vigorously resume the war. "Antony," he pursued, "adopted a counsel more fatal to himself, more advantageous to you. If, then, attachment to Antony be a crime, I plead guilty; but if, having thus seen how steady and faithful I am in my friendships, you determine to bind me to your fortunes by gratitude, depend on the same firmness and fidelity." This lofty tone and generous sentiment won the kindred heart of the arbiter of the world's destinies. Cæsar commanded the dignified suppliant to resume the diadem, treated him with great distinction, and Herod returned to Judæa, to the admiration of his partisans, and the terror of his enemies, thus constantly breaking forth with greater splendour from every transient cloud of danger. Cæsar passed from Rhodes to Asia Minor; thence through Syria to Egypt. Herod met him at Ptolemais, made him a present of eight hundred talents, and, by the splendour of his entertainment, and the provisions with which he furnished his army, still further conciliated his favour. After the conquest of Egypt, Octavius restored to him the part of his own territory formerly bestowed on Cleopatra, with Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, and the maritime towns of Joppa, Anthedon, Gaza, and the tower of Strato.

Thus, abroad, success seemed to wait on all the designs of Herod: the neighbouring kings might admire and envy the good fortune, or rather the consummate ability, with which he extricated himself from all his difficulties, and continued advancing in the career of prosperity and power; but at home the most miserable peasant might compassionate the wretchedness which filled his palace with dissension, crime, and bloodshed. The magnificence of Herod's public life is strangely contrasted with

the dark tragedy of his domestic history. Mariamne had again extorted the fatal charge intrusted to Soemus; and indignant at the jealous determination of her husband, that she should not survive him, she met him on his return with repulsive indifference, and even with undissembled dislike. Herod struggled between his love and his indignation; till one day, instead of submitting to his caresses, in the height of her passion she reproached him, in terms of the utmost bitterness, with his barbarous conduct to her relations. The envious Salome watched every opportunity of inflaming the resentment of her brother; and suborned his cup-bearer to accuse Mariamne of having bribed him to administer a poisonous philtre, or love-potion, to his master. Herod commanded her favourite eunuch, to whom all her secrets were intrusted, to be put to the rack. The tortured man denied all knowledge of the poison, but exclaimed, that the conduct of his mistress was entirely owing to the information she had received from Soemus. Furious at this new proof of her infidelity, he ordered Soemus to be despatched at once, and summoned Mariamne before a tribunal of judges, who were too much in dread of his power not to pass the sentence of death. Still Herod hesitated; he had no immediate intention of proceeding further than imprisonment; but his mother and sister so worked on his moody and violent temper that he at length issued out the fatal orders for her execution. To the horror of the spectators, her mother Alexandra assailed the wretched Mariamne, as she went to death, with a violent invective against her ingratitude to so gentle and affectionate a husband, loudly declaring that she deserved the fate she was about to suffer. The queen passed on in silence with the dignity of conscious virtue; though deeply wounded at this disgraceful and hypocritical conduct of her mother, who thus sought to avert the suspicions of Herod from herself, and to save

her own life at the sacrifice of her daughter's honour, she would not condescend to betray her emotion. She met her death with the calm intrepidity of innocence, and died worthy of the noble house of which the last blood flowed in her veins. She was a woman of unrivalled beauty and a haughty spirit: unhappy in being the object of passionate attachment, which bordered on frenzy, to a man who had more or less concern in the murder of her grandfather, father, brother, and uncle, and who had twice commanded her death in case of his own. Strange conflict of duties! who shall decide, what ought to have been her feelings and her conduct?

All the passions, which filled the stormy mind of Herod, were alike without bound: from violent love, and violent resentment, he sank into as violent remorse and despair. Everywhere, by day and night, he was haunted by the image of the murdered Mariamne; he called upon her name; he perpetually burst into passionate tears. In vain he tried every diversion,—banquets, revels, the excitement of society. A sudden pestilence broke out, to which many of the noblest of his court and of his own personal friends fell a sacrifice; he recognised, and trembled beneath the hand of the avenging Deity. On pretence of hunting, he sought out the most melancholy solitude, till the disorder of his mind brought on disorder of body, and he was seized with violent inflammation and pains in the back of his head, which led to temporary derangement. In this state he lay at Samaria. The restless Alexandra immediately began to renew her intrigues; but his partisans sent intelligence to him, and she was at length consigned to execution.

Herod slowly recovered from his malady, but it left an indelible gloom upon his mind; and his stern temper, instead of being softened by calamity, seemed to have acquired a fierce and insatiable propensity to cruelty and bloodshed. His next victim was

Costobaras, an Idumean, the husband of his sister Salome, whom she, in defiance of the law, had divorced; and, through her machinations, the unfortunate man was involved in the guilt of a pretended conspiracy, and convicted of the concealment of some of the Asmonean partisans. He was put to death with many other men of rank and distinction. From these horrible scenes we may turn with satisfaction to the peace and happiness of the country, and the liberality and magnificence of Herod's public administration. Yet Herod either did not understand, or more probably suspected as adverse to his interests, the strong and distinctive principles of the national character. Outwardly professing the utmost respect for the religion of his subjects, he introduced public exhibitions and spectacles of every kind, as if to reconcile the people by degrees to foreign usages, and so break down the wall of partition which separated them from other nations. He built a theatre within the walls of Jerusalem, an amphitheatre of immense size without. He celebrated quinquennial games on a scale of unrivalled splendour; invited the most distinguished proficients in every kind of gymnastic exercise, in chariot racing, boxing, and every kind of musical and poetic art; offered the most costly prizes; and even introduced the barbarous spectacles of the Romans, fights of wild beasts, and combats of wild beasts with gladiators. The zealous Jews looked on in amazement, and with praiseworthy though silent abhorrence, at these sanguinary exhibitions, so contrary to the mild genius of their great law-giver's institutions. But when Herod proceeded to adorn his theatre with representations of the victories of Cæsar, and set up, as trophies around it, complete suits of armour which had been taken in his wars, the people broke out into a violent tumult, supposing that images were concealed within these

panoplies. To appease the general dissatisfaction, Herod commanded one of them to be taken to pieces in the sight of all the people; and when a bare peg of wood appeared within, their discontent and anger turned to laughter and ridicule. But still a stern and dangerous enthusiasm prevailed among all who were zealously attached to the institutions of their ancestors. Ten men bound themselves by a solemn vow to assassinate the innovator in the scene of his delinquency: one of them was blind, yet, though he could not assist in the execution, he was determined to share in the peril of the enterprise. They entered the theatre with daggers under their cloaks, but the vigilant police of Herod were on their guard, he received intimation and returned into the palace. The men were apprehended, and instead of denying, boldly avowed and justified their design. They endured the most ignominious torture, but died firm and undaunted to the last. The informer, being discovered, was torn to pieces by the populace; and though Herod with incredible pains detected and punished the ringleaders in this affray, he felt the insecurity of his government and even of his life, particularly in Jerusalem. Actuated by his fears as well as the magnificence of his disposition, he built a strong and splendid palace on the hill of Sion, rebuilt as a fortress the palace of Baris, which commanded the temple, and called it Antonia. Still further to secure himself against the turbulent disposition of the capital, he determined to found other cities which might be more at his devotion. They would serve the double purpose of controlling the country as strong military posts, and affording him a retreat, on an emergency, from the disaffected metropolis. With this view he built citadels, as Gaba in Galilee, and Heshbon in Peræa. The strongest measure was the rebuilding Samaria, which he did on a scale of great magnificence and

strength, and peopled it partly with his soldiers, partly with the descendants of the old Samaritans, who hoped to see their temple likewise restored. But Herod did not neglect more noble and kingly means of regaining the lost affections of his subjects. A long drought, followed by unproductive seasons, involved not merely Judæa, but the neighbouring countries likewise, in all the horrors of famine, and its usual consequence—a dreadful epidemic pestilence. The little corn that remained, rotted, so that there was not enough seed to crop the ground. Herod instantly opened his treasures, secured a vast importation of grain from Egypt, and made constant distributions, both of food, and of clothing. 50,000 persons are said to have been maintained at his sole expense, and he even furnished corn for seed to the neighbouring inhabitants of Syria, so that the fame of his munificence not merely caused a strong reaction in his favour among his own subjects, but secured him a high degree of popularity with all the bordering states. This great expenditure seems by no means to have exhausted the revenues of Herod. He still indulged in his sumptuous passion for building. Having married a second Mariamne, the daughter of Simon, an obscure individual of priestly lineage, whom he appointed High Priest, he chose the spot on which he had defeated Antigonus, about seven miles from Jerusalem, as the site of a new fortified palace in his usual style of architecture. It stood on the gentle slope of a mound raised by human industry. The ascent was by a hundred steps to an enclosure of circular towers, within which were courts, ascending to the palace, which stood like a citadel above the rest. A town rapidly grew around the base of the hill. Water was brought by costly aqueducts from a great distance.

Thus, terrible to his adversaries, generally cour-

teous, affable, and bounteous to his countrymen and to strangers, securing his interests with Rome and its rulers by the most costly adulation, Herod steadily pursued his policy of counterbalancing, by a strong Grecian party, the turbulent and exclusive spirit of his Jewish subjects. More completely to secure this object, he determined to found a powerful city, chiefly colonized with Grecians, and dedicated to the name of his great Roman protector. Samaria he had already called Sebaste (the August); the new city was to take the name of Cæsarea. He chose a maritime situation, for the advantage of commerce, and may have thought of uniting in his new city the wealth of ancient Tyre with the greatness of Jerusalem. There was a small town called the tower of Straton, midway between Joppa and Dora. It possessed a haven, like all the rest on that coast, dangerous on account of the violent south-western winds, against which they had no protection. He first formed a strong mole or break-water, by sinking stones fifty feet long, eighteen wide, and nine deep. On this arose a pier two hundred feet wide, defended by a wall and towers. The entrance to this great artificial haven was from the north; and a vast fleet could thus ride in perfect safety in a sort of double harbour. All round, ran a noble quay or esplanade, and, probably, under this, were arched buildings for the entertainment and residence of mariners. Above, the city rose like an amphitheatre in a uniform line of sumptuous palaces. The subterranean arches, for drainage and other purposes, were on so great a scale that Josephus says there was as much building below ground as above. In the centre stood a great temple dedicated to Cæsar, with two colossal statues, one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. A theatre and amphitheatre, the customary ornaments of a Grecian city, were not forgotten. Cæsarea was twelve years before it was completed.



Thus Judæa was fast sinking into a province of the Roman empire; and Herod, instead of head of the Hebrew religious republic, became more and more on a level with the other vassal kings of Rome. His elder sons by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, were not brought up in Jewish tenets or customs, but sent to Rome for their education, where they were received into the palace of Augustus, and treated with great care and distinction. Nothing could exceed the estimation in which Herod stood, both with the emperor and his favourite, Agrippa. Cæsar was said to assign Herod the next place in his favour to Agrippa; Agrippa to esteem Herod higher than any of his friends, except Augustus. Whenever either visited the eastern provinces, Herod was the first to pay his homage. To see Agrippa he sailed to Mytelene, and afterward entertained Augustus himself in Syria. On one occasion, when Agrippa was engaged in war near the Bosphorus, Herod suddenly appeared with a large fleet, and through all the campaign assisted him with his personal support and advice. Herod took advantage of this alliance to enlarge his dominions. A district to the east of the sea of Genesareth was farmed by a certain Zenodorus. This man maintained a suspicious connexion with the freebooters, who dwelt in the mountain caves of Trachonitis. The whole province was made over to Herod, who, with his customary rigour and severity, suppressed and hunted down the robbers. Zenodorus, and some of the Gadarenes, who complained of oppression, laid their grievances first before Agrippa, afterward before Augustus himself; but found their ears closed against all representations to the disadvantage of Herod. Part of this district was created into a tetrarchate for his brother Pheroras. At Paneas, near the fountains of the Jordan, where Cæsarea Philippi afterward stood, was built a temple of white marble to the honour of Cæsar.

But the higher Herod advanced in the good graces of the Romans, by these costly and enduring marks of his adulation, the lower he sank in the good will of his jealous Jewish subjects. They suspected him, not without reason, of a fixed design to heathenize their nation and country. Neither his munificence in diminishing their annual tax one-third, nor his severities, could suppress their deep though secret murmurs. He exercised a stern and vigilant police, interdicted all fraternities and assemblies, occasionally surprised the most disaffected, and hurried them to the Hyrcania (his Bastile), whence they never returned. He was even said to walk the streets in disguise, to detect secret conspiracies, and form a judgment of the popular feeling; at one time he had determined to exact a general oath of allegiance, but the stricter and more powerful of the Pharisees, and the Essenes, an ascetic fraternity, openly refusing compliance, he thought it better to urge the matter no further.

At length he determined on a measure, which he hoped would at the same time employ the people, and ingratiate himself with all classes, the rebuilding the temple in its former pride and magnificence. The lapse of five hundred years, and the sieges which it had undergone, as it was the great military post of the nation, had much dilapidated the structure of Zorobabel. But the suspicious Jews beheld the work of demolition commence with the utmost jealousy and apprehension, lest, under pretence of repairing, the king should destroy entirely their sanctuary of their God. The prudence of Herod calmed their fears; he made immense preparations before he threw down the old building: the work proceeded with the greatest regularity, and the nation saw with the utmost pride a new fabric of more regular and stately architecture crowning the brow of Moriah with its glittering masses of white mar

ble and pinnacles of gold. Yet even while the temple was proceeding, Herod maintained his double character; he presided at the Olympic games, made magnificent donations for their support, and the Jewish monarch was nominated perpetual president of this solemn festival of Greece. On the other hand, Agrippa, on an excursion into Judæa, during which Herod showed him all his great works, offered one hundred oxen in the temple, and feasted the whole people.

But the declining days of Herod were to be darkened with a domestic tragedy, as melancholy and awful as those of his earlier life. His sumptuous palaces were again to resound with strife, mourning, and murder. Never was an instance in which the heathen might recognise so distinctly their avenging Nemesis; or those of purer faith the providence of a just and holy God, making cruelty its own avenger, and leaving crime to work its late, though natural consequences, horror, ruin, and desolation. It might have seemed, that the spirit of the injured Mariamne hovered over the devoted house, and involving the innocent as well as the guilty in the common ruin, designated the dwelling of her murderous husband as the perpetual scene of misery and bloodshed. On the return of Alexander and Aristobulus, the two sons of Mariamne, to Jerusalem, they were received, notwithstanding their Roman education, with general enthusiasm. The grace and beauty of their persons, their affable manners, above all the blood of the ancient Asmonean princes, which flowed in their veins, rendered them objects of the deepest interest to the whole Hebrew nation. Herod married them: Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia; Aristobulus to Mariamne, the daughter of Salome. Notwithstanding this, the envious mind of Salome, the sister of Herod, sickened at their

praises. Both her conscience, and that of her brother Pheroras, reproached them with their share in the murder of Mariamne; they apprehended direct vengeance, on the accession of the young princes. The youths themselves, perhaps, spoke without much discretion or reserve about their mother's fate; and rumours, aggravated by Salome and her party, began to spread abroad that they announced themselves as her future avengers. For three years these insinuations made no deep impression on the mind of Herod, who was justly proud of the popularity of his sons; but while he was absent with Agrippa, in his war near the Bosphorus, during which period he obtained for the Jews of Asia Minor a ratification of all their privileges, which the Greeks had endeavoured to wrest from them; these sinister reports began to obtain much strength and consistency, and consequently more credit with the suspicious father. Herod resorted to a most dangerous measure, in order to subdue the pride of his sons, and make them more entirely subservient to his will. He sent for his elder son, Antipater, whom he formerly had by Doris, the wife whom he divorced to marry Mariamne, and set him up as a sort of counterpoise to the popularity and hopes of Alexander and Aristobulus. The dark, designing, and unscrupulously ambitious Antipater entered into all the plots of Salome and Pheroras; and, as Herod had permission from Rome to bequeath his crown to whichever of his sons he chose, he lost no opportunity of alienating his father's affections from the sons of Mariamne. Herod, to place him more on a level with his rivals, introduced him to Agrippa, and sent him in the suite of his powerful friend to Rome. From Rome the artful youth steadfastly pursued, by means of letters, his insidious designs, till the mind of Herod was so inflamed, that he determined to accuse his sons before the tribunal of

Augustus. The king of Judæa and the two royal youths appeared before the emperor at Aquileia. Herod opened the charge by accusing them of unnatural obstinacy and disobedience, and of entering into criminal practices against his life. Shocked at this dreadful charge, the youths stood silent, unable to exculpate themselves, without criminating their jealous and cruel father. Their situation, and still more their silence, and the modest defence, into which they at length entered, excited the deepest interest in their favour; and Augustus, with that temperance and moderation which distinguished all his actions after he became emperor, succeeded in reconciling the father to his children. Herod returned with them to Jerusalem. Still, however, infatuated in favour of Antipater, he declared him his heir; in default of his issue, the succession was to pass to the sons of Mariamne. A short and deceitful peace ensued, during which, Herod, having finished his splendid city of Cæsarea, solemnly dedicated it, at a great festival, to the emperor, and instituted quinquennial games to his honour. He founded at the same time the towns of Antipatris, Cypron, and Phasaelis; and built a lofty tower in Jerusalem, called likewise after the name of his elder brother Phasael. Before long, the domestic dissensions broke out anew with greater violence. Antipater, sometimes insidiously exculpating, sometimes artfully accusing his brothers, kept the mind of Herod in a continued fever of suspicious excitement. The king's own favourite brother, Pheroras, increased his wretchedness. He had become so infatuated with the love of a female slave, as to refuse the hand of one of Herod's daughters. Not long after, on the offer of another daughter, Pheroras consented to break off his connexion with the slave. But before the espousals, he again changed his mind, and refused to conclude the marriage.

Pheroras was a still worse enemy to the peace of Herod. He instilled into the mind of Alexander, that his father secretly cherished a guilty passion for his wife Glaphyra. Alexander boldly questioned Herod about this scandalous imputation. Pheroras, to avoid the fury of his justly offended brother, laid the plot to the instigation of Salome, who vindicated herself with great energy. Yet these two dangerous inmates for some time lost their influence in the court. But the wily Antipater still remained; the sons of Mariamne were every day accused of new plots; sometimes with perverting the eunuchs who held the chief offices about the royal person, from whom they were said to have discovered the secret and feminine artifices which Herod used, to disguise the advance of old age; sometimes with designing the death of their father; or with a design of flying to Rome, or with entering into treasonable correspondence with the Parthians. Night and day these charges were repeated; the whole court became a scene of gloom, suspicion, and distrust. Friend shrunk from friend; every society swarmed with spies; men accused each other, from personal and private grounds of animosity. Sometimes their evil practices recoiled on their own heads; when the evidence was insufficient, Herod, disappointed of his victims, wreaked his vengeance on the accusers. Those who frequented the presence of the sovereign, were suspected of sinister designs; those who stood aloof, were self-convicted of disloyalty. Whoever had at any time shown marks of favour or attachment to the suspected sons of Mariamne, though his own most firm and steadfast friends, fell into disgrace. At length, all the confidential slaves of Alexander having been put to the rack, some kind of evidence was wrung from their extorted confessions, and the unhappy youth committed to prison

and loaded with chains. Here he adopted a strange and desperate measure ; he sent four papers to his father, filled with the most extravagant and improbable treasons, in all of which he avowed his participation, but implicated Salome, Pheroras, and all the most influential and faithful ministers of his father. Herod was worked up to a pitch of frenzy, persons of all ranks were daily seized, and either put to the torture, or executed at once.

At length Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, the father-in-law of Alexander, arrived at the court of Jerusalem. By first dexterously humouring the frenzy of Herod, and pretending to enter into his suspicions ; afterward by arguing dispassionately the improbability of the accusations, he succeeded in reconciling the father and son, and Alexander was reinstated in freedom and favour.

At this period Herod was not without anxiety arising from foreign disturbances. With all his vigour and severity he had never entirely suppressed the banditti of the Trachonitis. Encouraged by the secret protection of the Arabs, this lawless race commenced new depredations. Obodes was at that time king of Arabia Petrea, but all the authority was in the hands of Syllæus. This Syllæus had at one time proposed to marry Salome, the sister of Herod ; but the abjuration of his religion being demanded as the price of the connexion, he broke off the match, declaring that he should be stoned by the Arabians for such a compliance. The troops of Herod pursued the banditti into the dominions of Obodes, destroyed Repta, their strong hold, and discomfited an Arabian force which espoused their party. This was represented by Syllæus, at Rome, as a wanton and unprovoked aggression upon the kingdom of Arabia. The credit of Herod began to waver ; but he immediately despatched the eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus (an historian whose cen-

temporary life of Herod is (unfortunately lost) to the Roman Court, and through his address the cause assumed a better aspect, and was finally settled not only to his exculpation, but to his honour. Augustus had even determined to confer on Herod the kingdom of the Nabathean Arabians: but the dreadful dissensions of his family, which had again broken out with greater fury than ever, induced the cautious emperor at least to delay his munificent intention. Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras, had again obtained the ear of Herod: He wrote to Rome the most dreadful charges against the sons of Mariamne; and Augustus, after endeavouring to sooth the maddened spirit of the father, consented that the sons should be brought to trial at Berytus. Saturninus and Volumnius, the governors of Syria, presided in the court. The only fact which was clearly proved against them was a design of flying beyond the power of their suspicious father; but so strong were the charges, and so vehement the exertions of Herod, who acted as his own advocate, examining witnesses, and reading documents with the strongest and most violent emphasis, that a verdict of condemnation was at length extorted from a majority of the council. The unhappy youths, who had not been permitted to make their defence, awaited their doom in silence. Yet still Herod wanted courage to execute his own barbarous design. The whole people, particularly the army, looked on in deep but suppressed interest, till one Teron, a gallant soldier, openly expressed the general feeling in the presence of the monarch. His interference turned out, eventually, fatal to himself and to the sons of Mariamne. He was accused of having tampered with the barber of Herod against his life; and Alexander was implicated as privy to the crime. The son of the barber to save his father's life, confirmed the accusation. Teron was put to death on the



spot, and the final order issued that Alexander and his brother should be strangled at Sebaste. Either on this or on some similar occasion, his imperial protector, Augustus, uttered this bitter sarcasm—that he had rather be one of Herod's swine than one of his sons.

The crime did not remain long unavenged; it recoiled with dreadful force against almost all who were implicated. The low-born wife of Pheroras had connected herself with the Pharisaic party; and when, on the refusal of 7000 of this faction to take an oath of allegiance to Augustus and to Herod, they were heavily fined, she discharged the whole of the mulct. Rumours began to spread abroad of prophecies, which declared that God intended to transfer the government of his people from the line of Herod to that of Pheroras. Pheroras was commanded to separate himself from his wife, to whom all these intrigues were attributed. He refused, and lost all the favour with which he had been once regarded by his brother and benefactor. Yet, when a short time after he fell ill, and lay on his death-bed, the kindly feelings of Herod revived, and he visited him with fraternal tenderness. On the death of Pheroras suspicions began to arise that his malady was not in the course of nature; two of his freedmen openly charged his wife with having poisoned him. Herod ordered a strict investigation of the transaction: in the process a darker and more horrible secret came to light. Antipater, the beloved son, for whom he had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children—Antipater, the heir of his kingdom, was clearly proved to have conspired with Pheroras to poison his old and doting father, and thus to secure and accelerate his own succession. The wife of Pheroras acknowledged the whole plot, and declared that the affectionate conduct of Herod to Pheroras, on his

death-bed, had melted the heart of the fratricide, who had commanded her to throw into the fire the subtle poison which had already been prepared. His wife, Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest, was implicated in the conspiracy: he repudiated her immediately, deposed her father, and appointed Mattathias to the high priesthood. Antipater was at Rome; and the horror-stricken Herod dissembled his detection of the conspiracy; yet still obscure intimations spread abroad, which, however, did not reach the ears of Antipater. Triumphant in the success of his intrigues and the unbounded promises of support which he had purchased at Rome—confident in his speedy if not immediate inheritance of the throne—in all the pride of successful guilt, and the malignant assurance that his rivals were entirely removed by death, Antipater landed at Cæsarea. The once-crowded port seemed a solitude; no acclamations rose around him, no deputations waited upon him at his landing; the few people who met turned aloof, or looked on as if they now dared to hate him undisguisedly; every one seemed in possession of some fearful secret, of which he alone was ignorant. It was too late to fly: he was constrained to dissemble his terrors, and proceed to Jerusalem. There he was immediately summoned before the tribunal of Herod, who sat with Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, for his assessor. The proofs of his guilt were full and conclusive: he was condemned without the least hesitation. Herod, already afflicted by his last mortal malady, delayed the execution, but in the mean time made his final alterations in his will. He bequeathed the kingdom to Antipas, passing over Archelaus and Philip, who were supposed to be implicated in the conspiracy of Antipater. He left splendid bequests to Cæsar, to his wife Julia, to her sons, his friends, and even his freedman. Thus

the great and magnificent Herod lay, afflicted in body by the most painful and loathsome malady, tormented in mind by the ingratitude of his favourite son—perhaps with remorse for the murder of those of Mariamne. His last hours were still further embittered by the turbulence and disaffection of his subjects.

Among the innovations of Herod nothing offended the eyes of the zealous Jews more than a large golden eagle, which he had placed over the great gate of the temple. Some daring and enthusiastic youths, instigated by two celebrated teachers, named Judas and Matthias, conspired to tear down the offensive emblem. On a rumour of Herod's death, they put their design in execution. Being apprehended, they boldly justified their conduct. Herod at first assumed something like moderation: he assembled the chiefs of the people, reproached them with the ungrateful return which they made for his munificence in rebuilding the temple, which the Asmonean princes had left in decay; and only displaced Mattathias, the High Priest, who was suspected to have encouraged the enterprise. The most criminal of the actual assailants and their teachers were burnt alive. But now the disorder of the king made sensible progress; a slow fire seemed creeping through all his vital parts: he had a rabid appetite which he dared not gratify on account of internal ulcers, and dreadful pains, particularly in the colon. Dropsical symptoms appeared in his feet, which were swoln, and exuded. Ulcers, which bred worms, preyed on the lower region of his belly and the adjacent parts. His breathing was difficult: and violent spasms, which seemed to give him unnatural strength, convulsed his frame. He sought relief from the warm bituminous baths of Callirhoe, but returned to Jericho without improvement. There the frenzy of his malady working on the

natural sternness of his disposition, he is said to have imagined a kind of testamentary cruelty, almost too horrible to be believed: he determined to extort a universal mourning for his death from the reluctant people. He commanded some of all the chief families in Judæa to be seized, shut up in the Hippodrome, and strictly enjoined his sister Salome that, immediately he expired, the guards should be let loose, and an unsparing massacre commence. Thus a wide, and general, and heart-felt wailing would spread throughout all the land with the news of his death. But the dying requests of kings proverbially fail of their accomplishment, and, happily for human nature, this sanguinary injunction was disregarded.

Among these atrocities of the later days of Herod, what is called the Massacre of the Innocents (which took place late in the year before, or early in the same year with, the death of Herod, four years before the vulgar-era of Christ,) passed away unnoticed. The murder of a few children, in a small village near Jerusalem, would excite little sensation among such a succession of dreadful events, except among the immediate sufferers. The jealousy of Herod against any one who should be born as a *King in Judæa*—the dread that the high religious spirit of the people, might be re-excited by the hope of a real Messiah—as well as the summary manner in which he endeavoured to rid himself of the object of his fears, are strictly in accordance with the relentlessness and decision of his character.

At length, just before his death, the ratification of the sentence against Antipater arrived from Rome. It found Herod in a paroxysm of torment so great that he had attempted to lay violent hands on himself. The rumour of his death induced Antipater to make a desperate attempt to bribe the keeper of his prison. This last-offence was fatal. Herod just

raised himself up in his bed to give the mandate for his execution, and then fell back—had only time once more to remodel his will; and thus, dispensing death on one hand, and kingdoms on the other, expired.



## BOOK XII.

## THE HERODIAN FAMILY.

*Archelaus—Roman Governors—Pontius Pilate—Herod Antipas—Philip—Accession of Caligula—Agrippa—Persecutions in Alexandria—Philo—Babylonian Jews—Agrippa King.*

THE executioner had made frightful ravages in the family of Herod; but still a powerful, if united, race survived. Ten wives of Herod are mentioned in history. The *first*, Doris, the mother of Antipater the last and the only unpitied victim of his vengeance. The *second*, Mariamne, the Asmonean princess, the mother of the unfortunate Aristobulus and Alexander, and of two daughters, Salampsio and Cypros. Aristobulus, by Bernice his cousin, left four children—1, Herod Agrippa, who became distinguished at a later period—2, Herodias, infamous for her divorce of her first husband, her uncle Philip, and her incestuous marriage with Herod Antipas—3, Aristobulus—4, Herod. The *third* wife of Herod the Great was Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest, the mother of Herod Philip. The name of Herod Philip was effaced from the will of his father, on account of his mother's supposed connexion with the conspiracy against his life. The *fourth*, a niece by the brother's side; the *fifth*, a niece by the sister's side, whose names do not appear, and who had no issue. The *sixth*, Malthace, a Samaritan, the mother of—1, Archelaus—2, Herod Antipas—3, Olympias. It was among this family that his dominions were chiefly divided. The *seventh*, Cleopatra of Jerusalem, the mother of—1, Herod—2, Philip, Tetrarch of Trachonitis. The *eighth*, Pellas, the mother of Phasaelis. The *ninth*, Phedra, mother of Roxana. The *tenth*, Elpis, the mother of Salome.

The will of Herod had designated the sons of Malthace as his successors. To Herod Antipas were assigned Galilee and Peræa—to Archelaus, Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa. Archelaus at once assumed the direction of affairs in Jerusalem. The funeral of his father was the first object of his care. The lifeless remains of Herod seemed to retain his characteristic magnificence. The body was borne aloft on a bier, which was adorned with costly precious stones. The linen was of the richest dye; the winding-sheet of purple. It still wore the diadem, and, above that, the golden crown of royalty—the sceptre was in its hand. The sons and relatives of Herod attended the bier. All the military force followed, distributed according to their nations. First his body-guard—then his foreign mercenaries, Thracians, Germans, Gauls—then the rest of the army, in war array. Last came five hundred of his court-officers, bearing sweet spices, with which the Jews embalmed the dead. In this pomp the procession passed on, by slow stages, to the Herodium, a fortified palace about twenty-five miles from Jericho.

Archelaus, according to Jewish usage, mourned for seven days; but rumours were industriously propagated by his enemies, that, while he wore the decent garb of sorrow during the day-time, his nights were abandoned to revelry, and to the most undisguised rejoicing among his own private friends. At the end of this time, he gave a splendid funeral banquet to the whole people, and then entered the temple in great pomp amid general acclamations; and, taking his seat on a golden throne, delivered an address to the multitude. His speech was conciliatory and temperate. He alluded to his father's oppressions—thanked the people for their loyal reception—promised to reward their good conduct—but declined assuming the royal diadem till his father's testament should be ratified at Rome. The



people vied with each other in the vehemence of their applause, but their acclamations were mingled with demands by no means so acceptable to the royal ear. Some called for a diminution of the public burden; others for the release of the prisoners, with whom Herod had crowded the dungeons; some more specifically for the entire abandonment of the taxes on the sale of commodities in the markets, which had been levied with the utmost rigour. Archelaus listened with great affability, promised largely, and, having performed sacrifice, retired.

While he was preparing for his voyage, the zealous party which had been concerned in the demolition of the Eagle, collected their strength. They bewailed with frantic outcries the death of Matthias, the teacher, and his seditious pupils, who had even been deprived of the rites of burial by the unrelenting rigour of Herod—and no unintelligible execrations against the deceased monarch were mingled with their lamentations. They demanded the summary punishment of all who had been employed in the recent executions, the expulsion of the High Priest, and the substitution of one more legally appointed. Archelaus attempted to allay the tumult by conciliatory measures. He sent officer after officer to sooth, to expostulate, to admonish, to threaten. Argument and menace were alike unavailing. The clamorous multitude would listen to neither, and the sedition grew every day more alarming. The danger was more urgent on account of the approaching Passover, which assembled the Jews from all quarters of the country, and even strangers from the most remote parts of the world. If it was difficult at any time to keep the fanatical multitude of Jerusalem in check, it was still more so, when this formidable addition was made to their numbers. The leaders of the faction held their meetings in the temple itself, where they were abundantly sup-

plied with provisions by their friends, who did not scruple to beg in their behalf. It was high time to interfere, and Archelaus sent a centurion with a band of soldiers to disperse the multitude, to apprehend the ringleaders, and bring them before his tribunal. They arrived while the sacrifice was offering. The zealots inflamed the multitude, who attacked the soldiers, many of whom were stoned; the rest, with the centurion, made their escape, but with great difficulty, and dreadfully maimed. This done, the sacrifice quietly proceeded. Archelaus found it necessary, if he would not at once throw up all his authority, to act with greater vigour. He gave orders for a large body of troops to advance. The cavalry cut off the strangers from the provinces who were encamped without the city, from the zealots who occupied the temple. The multitude fled on all sides; those of Jerusalem dispersed; the strangers retreated to the mountains; 3000 were slain. Archelaus issued a proclamation, commanding all the strangers to return to their homes; they obeyed with reluctance, and, to the universal horror, the great national festival, thus interrupted, was not concluded.

Archelaus set out for Rome, accompanied by Nicolaus of Damascus, and many of his relatives, all with the ostensible purpose of supporting his claim to the throne, some with the secret design of thwarting his advancement. Among the latter was Salome, the false and intriguing sister of Herod. At Cæsarea he met Sabinus, the Procurator of Syria, who was hastening to Judæa, in order to make himself master of the treasures left by Herod, and to obtain military possession of the country, by seizing the fortresses which that king had built. Through the interference of Varus, the prefect of Syria, Sabinus agreed to suspend his march, to leave Archelaus in possession of the treasures, and to undertake no measure till the arrival of an edict

from Rome. But no sooner had Archelaus set sail, and Varus returned to Antioch, than Sabinus marched to Jerusalem, seized the palace, summoned the keepers of the treasures to render up their accounts, and the military officers to cede the fortresses. All, however, remained faithful to their charge, and refused to comply without direct orders from Rome.

Archelaus had to encounter a formidable opposition to his attainment of the royal dignity, not merely from the caprice or pride of the Emperor, but from intrigues set on foot in his own family. His younger brother, Herod Antipas, arrived in Rome to maintain his own pretensions to the crown, grounded on a former will of Herod, made, as his party asserted, when his father was in a saner state of mind than at his decease, and in which he was named first. His mother Malthace, Salome his aunt, Ptolemy the brother of Nicolaus of Damascus, a great favourite with his father, and Irenæus, a man of great eloquence and ability, espoused the party of Antipas. Augustus appointed a solemn hearing of the cause, and in that haughty spirit which delighted in displaying kings publicly pleading for their thrones before the footstool of Roman subjects, appointed Caius, the son of Agrippa, and his own daughter Julia, afterward noted for her profligacy, to preside on the occasion. Antipater, the son of Salome, conducted the cause of Herod Antipas. He insisted on the former will of Herod—accused Archelaus of assuming the crown without the sanction of the Emperor—of unseemly rejoicings at the death of his father—and of wanton acts of tyranny against the people—urging and aggravating the dreadful slaughter during the tumult of the Passover. The eloquent Nicolaus of Damascus maintained the cause of Archelaus with his accustomed ability. The Emperor took time to deliberate on his judgment.

While these affairs were pending at Rome, intelligence arrived that Judæa was in a state of insurrection. The rapacity and insolence of Sabinus had exasperated the people, already in a state of tumultuary excitement. Varus advanced to Jerusalem, seized the ringleaders, and re-established order—but unfortunately left Sabinus behind him to maintain the peace. The sole object of this unscrupulous commander was to find an opportunity and excuse for seizing the tempting treasures of this opulent city, as well those left by Herod, as the more inestimable riches contained in the temple. All his acts tended to goad the people to insurrection.

The Pentecost drew on, and the Jews gathered together from all quarters with the deliberate intention of wreaking their vengeance on Sabinus. From both the Galilees, from Idumæa, from Jericho, and from the provinces beyond Jordan, vast multitudes came crowding into the city. One party encamped in the circus to the south, one occupied a position to the north, another to the west of the temple; and thus shut up the single legion of Varus in the Palace. Sabinus sent pressing messages to Varus for relief. In the meantime he himself, for with more than Roman rapacity he does not seem to have possessed Roman valour, ascending the lofty tower of Phasaelis, gave orders to his troops to make a desperate sally, and force their way to the temple. The Jews, though repelled by the disciplined valour of the legionaries, fought with courage, and, mounting on the roofs of the cloisters or porticoes which surrounded the outer court of the temple, annoyed the assailants with stones, javelins, and other missiles. The Romans at length set fire to the cloisters, the roofs of which were made of wood, cemented with pitch and wax; and the whole magnificent range became one immense conflagration: the gilding melted, the columns fell, and all the Jews

upon the roof were either crushed to death among the blazing ruins, or lay victims to the unrelenting fury of the enemy: some of the more desperate fell on their own swords; not one escaped. But the flames could not repress the daring rapacity of the Roman soldiery: they broke into the temple, plundered on all sides, and even seized the sacred treasures, from which Sabinus secured the greater part of 400 talents; the rest was secreted by the pillagers. Maddened with this outrage, the bravest of the Jews assembled from all quarters, besieged the palace, but offered Sabinus his life if he and his legion would evacuate the city. Many of Herod's soldiers deserted to the Jews; but, on the other hand, two distinguished officers, Rufus, the commander of Herod's cavalry, and Gratus, the captain of his infantry, with 3000 Samaritan troops, joined Sabinus. The Jews pressed the siege with vigour, and began to mine the palace; at the same time urging Sabinus to quit the city, and leave them to their own government; but Sabinus would not trust their faith.

The whole country was in the same dreadful state of anarchy. The severe military police of Herod was now withdrawn or suspended, on account of the uncertainty of the succession. The Romans exercised all the oppression without affording the protection of despotic sovereignty: and at the period when the nation was in the highest state of excitement—some looking forward, with sober patriotism, to the restoration of their national independence—others, of more ardent zeal, to the fulfilment of their national prophecies in the person of some mighty conqueror, the fame of whose destined birth at this period prevailed, according to the expression of the Roman historian, throughout all the East,—the whole country was without any regular government; adventurer after adventurer sprang up in every quarter, not one of whom was too base or too

desperate to assemble a number, either of daring robbers or deluded fanatics, around his standard. Two thousand of Herod's troops having been dismissed, spread over Judæa, subsisted on plunder, and besieged Achiab, a cousin of Herod, who took refuge in the mountains. One Jūdas, son of Hezekias, a noted captain of banditti, surprised Sepphoris, seized the treasures, and plundered the armory, from which he supplied his followers, who became the terror of the district. Simon, a slave of Herod, a man of great personal strength and beauty, had the audacity to assume the diadem. He plundered the palace in Jericho, and several of the other royal residences; his followers burnt that of Betharamptha, near the Jordan. He was at length attacked by Gratus, taken in a ravine, and beheaded. Another adventurer, Athronges, a common shepherd, with his four brothers, men of extraordinary personal strength and courage, collected a predatory band, and waged open war both against the Romans and the royal party. Athronges also assumed the diadem. He had the boldness to attack a Roman cohort, which was escorting a convoy of provisions and arms, near Emmaus. One centurion and 400 men were killed; the rest escaped with difficulty, leaving the dead on the field of battle. Nothing could exceed the rapacity and cruelty of this band. They were not subdued till long after, when one brother having been slain in battle by Gratus, the other in a conflict against Ptolemy; and the eldest taken, the youngest, who survived, broken in spirit, and finding his troops dispersed, surrendered to Archelaus.

In consequence of urgent entreaties from Sabinus, and dreading the peril in which his legion was placed, Varus, the Prefect of Syria, assembled at Ptolemais the two legions remaining in Syria, and four troops of horse, with some allies from Berytus, and some Arabian bands. Part he sent forward

into Galilee; they recovered and burnt Sepphoris, and subdued the whole district. With the rest he advanced in person to Samaria, which had taken no part in the late insurrections. His Arabian allies committed dreadful depredations, burning and ravaging on all sides: he himself gave orders for the burning of Emmaus, in revenge for the loss of the cohort defeated by Athronges. On his approach to Jerusalem, the forces from the country broke up their siege of Sabinus and dispersed: the inhabitants submitted, and laid the whole blame of the insurrection on the strangers. Sabinus, ashamed of meeting Varus, stole away to the coast, and took ship for Rome. Varus spread his troops over the country, and seized the notorious ringleaders in the recent tumults; 2000 were crucified, the rest pardoned. Finding, however, that the rapacity of his own forces, particularly his Arabian allies, from their hatred of Herod, increased the mischief, he dismissed the latter, and advanced only with his own force on a body of 10,000 men, which appeared in arms on the borders of Idumæa. These insurgents were persuaded by Achiab to surrender: the leaders were sent to Rome for trial; a general amnesty was granted to the rest. Augustus treated the criminals with lenity, excepting those who were related to the house of Herod, whom he ordered to be put to death for their unnatural hostility to the head of their own family.

In the meantime the great decision which was to award the dominions of Herod remained in suspense. A deputation of 500 Jews arrived at Rome, to petition for the re-establishment of their ancient constitution, and the total suppression of the kingly government. They were joined by 8000 of their countrymen, resident in Rome. An audience was granted, in which they enlarged on the oppressions, cruelties, summary executions, and enormous taxations of the elder Herod. The whole Herodian

family now found it expedient to give up their dissensions, and unite their common interest. Herod Philip arrived at the same time to support his own claims.

At length the imperial edict appeared: it confirmed for the most part the will of Herod. Archelaus was appointed to the sovereignty of Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria, under the title of Ethnarch; that of king was reserved as a reward for future good conduct. Herod Antipas obtained Galilee and Peræa; Philip—Auranitis, Trachonitis, Paneas, and Batanea. The Samaritans were rewarded for their peaceable behaviour by the reduction of one quarter of their tribute. The chief cities of Archelaus were Jerusalem, Sebaste (Samaria), Cæsarea, and Joppa. Gaza, Gadara, and Hippo, as Greek towns, were added to the prefecture of Syria. The annual revenue of Archelaus was 600 talents. The bequests of Herod to Salome were confirmed; and in addition she obtained the towns of Jamnia, Azotus and Phasaelis, and a palace in Ascalon: her yearly revenue was sixty talents. The wealth, left to Augustus, he distributed, chiefly as a dower, to two unmarried daughters of Herod, whom he united to two sons of Pheroras. He retained nothing except some magnificent plate, as a memorial of his friend.

At this juncture an impostor made his appearance, who assumed the name of Alexander, the murdered son of Mariamne. So like was he in person to that ill-fated youth, and so well had he been tutored by an unprincipled adventurer, who was intimately acquainted with the court of Herod, that wherever he went, in Crete and Melos, where a number of Jews resided, he was received with all the attachment which the nation felt to the race of their Asmonean princes: he was liberally furnished with money, and boldly set out for Rome to demand his inheritance. The Jews crowded forth to meet him, and escorted him into the city with loud acclamations.



Celadus, one of the Emperor's freedmen, who had been familiarly acquainted with the sons of Mariamne, was sent to investigate the case: he was imposed upon like the rest. Not so Augustus himself, who, on sending for the false Alexander, observed that his hands were hard and horny, and that his whole person wanted the delicacy and softness of the royal youth. Still both he and his tutor supported a strict cross-examination, till at length Augustus himself led the youth aside, and promised to him a free pardon if he would confess the imposture. The youth, either supposing himself detected, or awed by the imperial presence, acknowledged the deception; and Cæsar, seeing that he was of a strong and muscular make, ordered him as a rower to his galleys. His instructor was put to death.

Archelaus (B.C. 3) assumed the dominion of Judæa, and governed with great injustice and cruelty. Such is the unanimous report of all historians, confirmed by his condemnation, after a solemn hearing before Augustus. Yet few facts have transpired by which posterity may judge of the equity of the sentence. He displaced Joazar from the pontificate, and substituted his brother Eleazar. Eleazar in his turn was supplanted by Jesus, son of Siva. The unlawful marriage of the Ethnarch with Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and widow of his brother Alexander, and his divorce of his own wife, Mariamne, gave great offence to his zealous subjects. He repaired the palace at Jericho with great magnificence, and paid much attention to the cultivation of the palm-trees in the neighbourhood. Such are the barren incidents of a reign of nine years; at the end of which Archelaus was hastily summoned to Rome, while sitting at a banquet. His cause was formally heard, his brothers as well as his subjects being his accusers. He was banished to Viennæ in Gaul; his

estates confiscated, and Judæa reduced to a Roman province. Thus the sceptre finally departed from Judah: the kingdom of David and Solomon—of the Asmonean princes and of Herod, sank into a district, dependant on the prefecture of Syria, though administered by its own governor, a man usually of the equestrian order.

At this period of the Jewish history, when the last semblance of independence passed away, and Judæa became part of a Roman province, it may be well to cast a rapid view over the state of the people, and their more important existing institutions.

The supreme judicial authority was exercised by the Sanhedrin, the great ecclesiastical and civil council. The origin of this famous court is involved in obscurity. The Jews, it has been observed, took pride in deducing its lineal descent from that established by Moses in the wilderness. The silence of the whole intervening history to the captivity, has been considered fatal to these lofty pretensions. Others date its origin from the captivity: others again from the reorganization of the Jewish polity by the Maccabees. The Sanhedrin consisted of seventy-one persons, partly priests, partly Levites, partly elders. The High Priest, whether of right or not is much disputed, usually sat as president: he was entitled Nasi, or prince. At his right hand sat the Ab-beth-Din, the father of the council, or vice-president: on his left, the Wise Man, perhaps the most learned among the doctors of the law. The constitution of the rest of the council, and their mode of election, are involved in much obscurity. The qualifications of a member of this court, as stated by the Jewish writers, are curious. "They must be religious, and learned in arts and languages. Some added, in their fanciful attachment to the number seventy, that they must understand seventy languages! They must have some skill in physic,

arithmetic, astronomy, astrology, and be acquainted with what belonged to magic, sorcery, and idolatry, that they may know how to judge of them. They must be without maim or blemish of body; men of years, but not extremely old, because such are commonly of too great severity; and *they must be fathers of children, that they might be acquainted with tenderness and compassion.*"

The council sat in the form of a semicircle round the President, whose place was between the Abbeth-Din and the Wise Man. At each end was a secretary; one registered the votes of acquittal—the other of condemnation.

At first the Sanhedrin sat in a room in the cloister of the court of the Israelites, called Gazith. They afterward removed successively to other places. The proper period of sitting was all the time between the morning and evening service. The Sanhedrin was the great court of judicature: it judged of all capital offences against the law: it had the power of inflicting punishment by scourging and by death. Criminals capitally condemned were executed in four different ways; by strangling, burning, slaying with the sword, and by stoning.

The Great Sanhedrin was a court of appeal from the inferior Sanhedrins of twenty-three judges, established in the other towns.

The Sanhedrin was probably confined to its judicial duties—it was a plenary court of justice, and no more—during the reigns of the later Asmonean princes, and during those of Herod the Great and his son Archelaus. To the despotism of the two latter there was no check, except an appeal to Rome. When Judæa became a Roman province the Sanhedrin either, as is more likely, assumed for the first time, or recovered its station as a kind of senate or representative body of the nation; possessed itself of such of the subordinate functions of the government as were not actually administered by the

Roman procurator; and probably, on account of the frequent changes in the person of the High Priest, usurped, in some degree, upon his authority. At all events, they seem to have been the channel of intercourse between the Roman rulers and the body of the people. It is the Sanhedrin, under the name of the chief priests, scribes, and elders of the people, who take the lead in all the transactions recorded in the gospels. Jesus Christ was led before the Sanhedrin, and by them denounced before the tribunal of Pilate. Whether they had lost or retained the power of inflicting capital punishment, has been debated with great erudition; and, like similar questions, is still in a great degree uncertain.

The body of the people, at least all above the lowest order, seem to have addicted themselves to one or other of the two great prevailing sects—the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The multitude, though not actually enrolled among the former, were entirely under their sway, and zealously adhered to their faction. In all places of public resort the Pharisees were always seen with their phylacteries, or broad slips of parchment, inscribed with sentences of the law, displayed on their foreheads and the hems of their garments: even in the corners of the public streets they would kneel to pray; and in the temple or synagogues they chose the most conspicuous stations, that their long devotions might excite the admiration of their followers. They fasted rigorously, observed the sabbath with the most scrupulous punctuality, and paid tithes even upon the cheapest herbs. In private societies they assumed the superiority to which their religious distinction seemed to entitle them; they always took the highest places. But their morals, according to the unerring authority of Jesus Christ, were far below their pretensions: they violated the main principles of the law, the justice and humanity of the Mosaic institutions, while they rigidly adhered to the most minute

particulars, not merely of the law itself, but of tradition likewise. Still they were the idols of the people, who revered them as the great teachers and models of virtue and holiness. The Sadducees were less numerous and less influential: for, besides the want of this popular display of religion, they were notoriously severe in the execution of the national statutes. Denying all punishment for crime in a future life, their only way to discourage delinquency was by the immediate terrors of the law; and this they put in force, perhaps with the greater rigour, because their disbelief of future rewards and punishments was represented by their enemies as leading necessarily to the utmost laxity of morals. This effect it would probably have on many of the weak or licentious: but the doctrine of the Sadducees, which fully recognised the certain punishment of guilt in this world by Divine Providence, is not justly chargeable with these consequences. It is singular that this notorious severity in the administration of the law is strongly exemplified in the Christian history. The first persecution of the apostles took place when the Sadducees were in possession of the high priesthood, and probably formed a majority of the Sanhedrin;\* and the High Priest who put James to death, was, in all probability, of that sect.

Besides these two great sects, there was a considerable party attached to the persons of the Herodian family; who probably thought it the best interest of the country to remain quietly under the government of native princes, and the protection of the Roman emperors. This faction most likely comprehended what may be called the Grecian party; rather inclined to Grecian habits and customs, than strongly attached to the national institutes and usages.

At a considerable distance from the metropolis,

\* Acts, v. 17

in some highly cultivated oases amid the wilderness on the shores of the Dead Sea, were situated the chief of the large agricultural villages of the Essenes. According to Philo their number was about 4000. Almost in every respect, both in their rules and in the patient industry with which they introduced the richest cultivation into the barren waste, the Essenes were the monastic orders of the Jews. Among groves of palm-trees, of which, according to the picturesque expression of Pliny, they were the companions, and amid fertile fields won from the barren wilderness, they passed their rigid and ascetic lives. They avoided populous cities not from hatred of mankind, but from dread of their vices. In general, no woman was admitted within their domains. Some of the inferior communities allowed marriage, but only associated with their wives for the procreation of children; the higher and more esteemed societies practised the most rigid celibacy, and entirely forswore all communication with the other sex. Wonderful nation, says the Roman naturalist, which endures for centuries, but in which no child is ever born. They were recruited by voluntary proselytes, or by children whom they adopted when very young, and educated in their discipline. Among the Essenes all pleasure was forbidden as sin; the entire extinction of the passions of the body was the only real virtue. An absolute community of goods was established in their settlements: even a man's house was not his own; another person might enter and remain in it as long as he pleased. The desire of riches was proscribed; every lucrative employment, commerce, traffick, and navigation were forbidden. They neither bought nor sold; all they had was thrown into a common fund, from which each received the necessaries of life; but for charity, or for the assistance of the poor or the stranger, they might draw as largely as they would on this general revenue.

They were all clothed alike in white garments, which they did not change till they were worn out; they abhorred the use of oil; if any one were anointed against his will, he scrupulously cleansed himself. Their lives were regulated by the strictest forms; they rose before the sun, but were forbidden to speak of any worldly business, and devoted all the time till break of day to offering up certain ancient prayers, that the sun might shine upon them. After this they received their orders from the superior, and went to work, according to his commands, at the labour or craft in which they were skilled; but their artizans might only work on articles used in peace, by no means on swords, arrows, or military weapons; though they carried arms, when they travelled, to defend themselves against robbers. Having worked till the fifth hour, eleven o'clock, they assembled for refreshment. First, however, they washed, and put on a linen garment; they then went into a room which no one might enter who was not of their sect. After that they entered the common refectory as if it were a sacred place; there in silence waited till grace was said; then each received his portion, from the baker and the cook, of bread, salt, and hyssop; another grace closed the meal: then, putting off their sacred garment, they returned to their toil till evening, when they again assembled to supper. No noise or tumult was heard; they spoke only by permission and in turn; on other occasions if ten were met, one could not speak without the consent of the nine. In company they were to avoid spitting either before them or to the right hand. They observed the sabbath with the strictest precision, not even lighting a fire, or performing the necessities of nature. At all other times they concealed their excrements with scrupulous care, digging a pit a foot deep, lest the holy light should be defiled. They then washed themselves with great care. On the sabbath they all

met in their synagogues, where the elders interpreted the sacred writings, explaining them chiefly by parables.

In their religious opinions they differed from their countrymen; though they sent their gifts to the temple, they offered no sacrifices there. They were strict predestinarians. They believed that the body was mortal, the soul immortal; that the soul, emanating out of the noblest and purest air, is imprisoned in the body, where it is subjected to severe trials: when released from its corporeal bonds, it escapes as it were a long servitude, and soars back rejoicing to its native element. They believed, with the Greeks, in a delightful region beyond the ocean, in which the souls of the good dwelt for ever. There rain, and snow, and parching heat were unknown, but the air was continually refreshed with balmy and gentle breezes from the sea. The souls of the wicked were doomed to a cold and gloomy place of everlasting punishment. They were great students of their sacred books, and especially of the prophetic writings. Many were endowed, according to Josephus, with that gift. They studied likewise the nature and cure of diseases, and the medicinal properties of herbs and minerals. Their morals were rigid in every respect. They were bound, by solemn vows, to worship God and to be just to men; to keep inviolable faith; if intrusted with authority, to abstain from all wrong and from splendid apparel; to love truth and hate liars; to communicate only to the members of the society the tenets of the sect; to preserve their sacred doctrinal books, and the names of the angels. They paid the highest veneration to age: many of them, from their temperate habits, lived to more than 100 years. They abstained from all oaths, considering an oath as bad as perjury. They abhorred slavery, as an infringement of the natural liberty of men. In their civil constitution, they



were all equal, as regards their rights, but divided into four classes; of which the superior class looked down so much on those beneath them, that, if touched by one of a lower order, they were defiled, and washed themselves.

There were stewards who managed the common stock, and officers who took care of all strangers who might enter their towns. No one was admitted into the society without the strictest probation; the proselyte received a small pick-axe, linen garments, and a white dress, and so commenced his year of novitiate. After having given satisfactory proof of continence and temperance for that period, he was admitted to closer intimacy, and to wash in the holy water: yet for two years longer he remained on trial, and only at the end of that time was admitted to the common refectory. Whoever was guilty of any great crime was expelled from the society—a fearful doom! for having sworn that he would receive no food but from his own sect, the outcast fed, like a beast, on the grass of the field, till at length he perished with hunger. Sometimes, if at the last extremity the criminal showed sincere repentance, he was readmitted, from compassion, within the society. But this awful fate was inflicted with great reluctance; for justice was administered with the utmost care; and no verdict could be given unless a hundred were present; it was then usually irrevocable.

The Essenes were cruelly persecuted by the Romans, who probably entered their country after the capture of Jericho. They were tortured, racked, had their bones broken on the wheel, in order to compel them to blaspheme their lawgiver or eat forbidden meats. They did not attempt to appease their tormentors; they uttered no cry, they shed no tear; and even smiled in the worst agony of torment; and in steadfast reliance on the immortality of their souls, departed, rejoicing, from life. These were

usually called practical Essenes; there was another class in Egypt, called the Therapeutæ or Contemplative. These were mystics; but they will come more closely under our consideration when we enter into the history of the several Jewish settlements in foreign countries.

The origin of this singular people, the Essenes, is involved in obscurity. Some have deduced them from very high antiquity, but without the slightest ground for their opinion: others derive them from the Rechabites, mentioned in the latter period of the monarchy. In some respects they may seem to have been formed in imitation of the schools of the prophets, some of which, if not all, bound themselves to a severe and abstemious life; and not only does Josephus inform us that many of the Essenes pretended to the gift of prophecy, but we meet with Essene prophets in several parts of the later Jewish history. The main principles of their tenets seem evidently grounded on that wide-spread Oriental philosophy, which, supposing matter either the creation of the Evil Being, or itself the Evil Being, considered all the appetites and propensities of the *material* body in themselves evil, and therefore esteemed the most severe mortification the perfection of virtue. The reverence for the names of the angels points to the same source, and there is one ambiguous expression in the account of Josephus, which, taken literally, would imply that they worshipped the sun.

On this complete alteration in the civil state of Judæa, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who had passed through all the offices of the Roman magistracy, and attained the consulate, was appointed to the prefecture of Syria. The subordinate administration of Judæa was intrusted to Coponius, a man of equestrian rank. Quirinius is by some supposed to have acted formerly as coadjutor to the Syrian prefect, Saturninus, having been appointed for the spe-

cial purpose of conducting the general census of the population in this region. This is what is incorrectly called the general taxation, in our common translation of St. Luke's gospel, which, in fact, was only a registry. Quirinius had now the more invidious office of taking a second census, of property as well as of persons, in order to regulate the taxation exacted by the Roman government from the subject provinces. The proud spirit of the Jews submitted in sullen reluctance to this last mark of subjection. The prudence of Joazar, who, in what manner it is unknown, had resumed the office of High Priest, repressed all dangerous indications of discontent; but the fiercer spirits found a leader in Judas, called the Galilean, though born in Gamala, a city of Gaulonitis. He was a man of eloquence, which he employed on the popular subjects—the sovereignty of God over his chosen people—the degradation of subjection to a foreign yoke—the unlawfulness of paying tribute. Multitudes crowded around him: the high-spirited—the adventurous—those who were full of burning zeal for their country and their law—unhappily also the fierce and licentious. With his confederate Sadoc, a Pharisee, Judas formed a fourth sect, in addition to those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The watchword of his party was—We have no other lord and master but God. But the days were passed when a similar war-cry had rallied the whole nation under the banner of the Maccabees, and won the independence of Judæa at the point of the sword. The circumstances of the times were widely different; the national character was altered for the worse; the power of the oppressor, who wielded all the forces of the western world with Roman vigour and ability, irresistible; and the God, in whose name and under whose protection they had been accustomed to triumph, was now about to withdraw his presence. A kingdom, *not of this world*, was to rise out of the

ruins of the temporal sovereignty, which had so long remained among the heirs and successors of David. Judas himself perished—his followers were dispersed; but to the influence of their tenets, in support of which, numbers endured the most horrible tortures and death, with the martyr's fortitude, Josephus attributes all the subsequent insurrections, and the final ruin of the city and the temple. The Gaulonites were the doctrinal ancestors of the zealots and assassins (Sicarii) of later days. The sons of Judas were true to their father's precepts, and, as we shall see hereafter, shared his fate.

Quirinius, having completed the sale of the confiscated goods which belonged to Archelaus—deposed Joazar, who had become unpopular, from the pontificate, and substituted Ananus, the son of Seth—retired to Syria. Coponius remained as governor of the province. No other incident of his administration is related, but a singular story of a wanton profanation of the temple by some Samaritans, who stole in on one of the nights during the Passover, and strewed the sacred pavement with dead men's bones.

Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, during whose government died Salome, the sister of Herod, leaving Jamnia and her other territorial possessions to Livia, the wife of Augustus. M. Ambivius was followed by Annius Rufus. This rapid succession of provincial governors took place at the close of the reign of Augustus; his successor Tiberius pursued a different policy. During his reign of twenty-three years, Judæa had only two rulers, Valerius Gratus (A.C. 16) and Pontius Pilate (A.C. 27). This was avowedly done by Tiberius on principles of humanity, and implied a bitter sarcasm on the rapacity of Roman prefects—"a rapid succession of rulers," observed the shrewd tyrant, "only increases the oppressions and exactions of the provinces. The governor who anticipates but a short harvest, makes

the most of his time, and extorts as much as he is able in the shortest possible period. A governor who expects to remain longer in office, pillages on a more gradual, and therefore less oppressive system—it is even possible that his avarice may be satiated.” He compared a Roman province to the poor wounded man in the fable, who lay by the way side covered with flies; and when a kind-hearted traveller offered to drive them away, declined his service, as those were already glutted, and would only be replaced by a more hungry swarm. As if the governors of Judæa had exemplified the justice of the imperial pleasantry, the Jews petitioned Tiberius for a diminution of the burdens by which they were overwhelmed. The decision was left to Germanicus, who was then in the East; but whether an inquiry took place is uncertain. The government of Gratus is remarkable only for the perpetual changes which he made in the appointment to the High-Priesthood. He deposed Ananus, and substituted Ismael, son of Fabi—then Eleazar, son of Ananus—then Simon, son of Camith—and lastly Joseph Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Ananus.

During this period Judæa enjoyed tranquillity, but the Jews of Rome were exposed to a dreadful calamity. The rapid progress of foreign superstitions, as they were called, particularly among the women of high rank, alarmed the vigilance of the government. A young libertine, Decius Mundus, had bribed the priests of the Egyptian Isis, and by their means, in the character and habit of the god Anubis, had debauched the wife of Saturninus, Paulina, a woman of rank and virtue, but strangely infatuated by her attachment to the Egyptian religion. Mundus, boasting of the success of his profligacy, the affair was detected. Mundus was banished, the priests crucified, the temple razed, and the statue of Isis thrown into the Tiber. Just at this juncture, some Jews were discovered to have ob-

tained so great an ascendancy over the mind of Fulvia, a noble matron, as not only to have made her a proselyte, but to have extorted from her large sums of money, as offerings to the temple, which they had converted to their own use. The Jews were involved in the same sentence with the Egyptians; they were expelled from Rome, perhaps from Italy; 4000 were drawn into the army, and sent to Sardinia, where the greater part fell victims to the unwholesome climate. Philo attributes this persecution to the intrigues of Sejanus, who apprehended that the attachment of the Jews to the person of the Emperor might stand in the way of his daring designs; and adds, that Tiberius, having discovered this after the death of Sejanus, issued an edict more favourable to that people.

Up to this period the Roman prætor seems to have resided in Cæsarea, and avoided all collision between his troops and the turbulent zealots of the capital. Pontius Pilate determined to transfer the winter quarters of his army from Samaria to Jerusalem. The Romans had hitherto so far respected the prejudices of their subjects, as not to introduce their standards, on which appeared not only the offensive *image* of the eagle, but likewise that of Cæsar, within the walls of the city. The troops entered the gates by night, and in the morning the people were shocked and surprised at beholding the effigy of the Emperor publicly displayed in their streets. They abstained from all violence, but a numerous deputation set out to Cæsarea, and for many days entreated Pilate to remove the standards. Pilate treated the affair as an insult on the Emperor, and, weary of their importunity, concealed some troops, with which he surrounded and hoped to disperse them. When the soldiers appeared, the Jews with one accord fell on the ground, declaring that they were ready to die rather than sanction the infringe-

ment of their law. Pilate had the prudence to withdraw the obnoxious emblems.\*

The refractory spirit of Jerusalem broke out on other occasions. Pilate seized some of the revenue of the temple, and applied it to the useful and magnificent design of building an aqueduct, which was to bring a supply of water to the city from the distance of 200 stadia—about 25 miles. The populace rose, and interrupted the workmen. Pilate, having dressed some of his soldiers in the common garb of the country, with their swords concealed, commanded them to mingle with the people, and when they began their usual obstruction to his works, to fall upon and disperse them. The soldiers executed their commission with greater cruelty than Pilate had intended, and committed dreadful havoc among the unarmed multitude.

Such was the man, not naturally disposed to unnecessary bloodshed, but, when the peace of his province appeared in danger, stern, decided, and reckless of human life—on all other occasions by no means regardless of ingratiating himself in the popular favour, before whose tribunal Jesus Christ was led. Pilate was awed perhaps by the tranquil dignity of Jesus, or at least saw no reason to apprehend any danger to the Roman sovereignty, from a person of such peaceful demeanour—he probably detected the malice, though he might not clearly comprehend the motive, of the accusation brought forward by the priests and populace. Still, however, he shrunk from the imputation of not being “Cæsar’s friend,” and could not think the life of one man, however innocent, of much importance in comparison with the peace of the country, and his own favour at Rome. In this dilemma, he naturally endeavours to avoid the responsibility of decision,

\* It is difficult to decide whether the account given by Philo, of the hanging up of certain bucklers in Herod’s palace, is a version of the same story or a different one

by transferring the criminal to the tribunal of Herod, to whose jurisdiction Christ as a Galilean belonged, and who happened to be at Jerusalem for the celebration of the Passover. At length, however, finding the uproar increasing, he yields without much further scruple, and the Roman soldiery are permitted to become the willing instruments of the Jewish priesthood, in the crucifixion of that man in whom Pilate himself could find no fault. We leave to the Christian historian the description of this event, and all its consequences. Yet our history will have shown that the state of the public mind in Judæa, as well as the character of Pilate, the chief agent in the transaction, harmonize in the most remarkable manner with the narrative of the Evangelists. The general expectation of the Messiah—the impatience of the Roman sovereignty, fostered by the bold and turbulent doctrines of Judas the Galilean—the extraordinary excitement of the more fanatical part of the people, which led them to crowd round the banner of each successive adventurer, who either assumed or might assume that character—the rigid prudence of the Chief-priests, lest the least indication of revolt should compromise the safety of the city and the temple, and expose the whole nation to the jealous resentment of the Roman governor—these circumstances of the times sufficiently account for the reception which such a teacher as Jesus of Nazareth met with in Jerusalem. Appearing, as he did, with doctrines so alarming to the authority of the priesthood—so full of disappointment to the fanatic populace—so repugnant to the national pride, as implying the dissolution of the Mosaic constitution, and the establishment of a new and more comprehensive faith—and, above all, openly assuming the mysterious title, the Son of God—it excites less astonishment, than sorrow and commiseration, that the passions of such a people should at once take arms, and proceed to the most awful violence against



a Teacher whose tenets were so much too pure and spiritual for their comprehension, whose character was so remote from their preconceived notions of the expected Messiah.

St. Luke relates another characteristic act of violence committed during the administration of Pilate, of which the Jewish records take no notice, the massacre of certain Galileans while they were offering sacrifice. Some have supposed that these might be followers of Judas the Gaulonite.

An act, which displayed the same vigilant jealousy of popular commotion, and the same reckless disregard of human life, led to the recall and the disgrace of Pilate. The Samaritans had hitherto remained in peaceful submission to the Roman government; they are stated occasionally to have shown their old enmity against the Jews, by way-laying those of the northern provinces who passed on their way to the Passover at Jerusalem. Now, however, the whole province was thrown into a state of excitement by an impostor, who promised to discover certain vessels, according to his statement, (grounded doubtless upon some old tradition) buried by Moses on Mount Gerizim. Multitudes appeared in arms at a village named Tirabatha, at the foot of the mountain. Pilate, with his usual vigilance and decision, ordered some troops to station themselves on the road, attacked the village, slew the leaders, and dispersed the rest.

The Samaritan senate carried their complaints before Vitellius, the president of Syria, the father of that Vitellius, who afterward obtained the empire. Vitellius sent immediate orders to Pilate to withdraw to Rome, and there answer to the charges which were made against him.

Vitellius then in person visited Jerusalem; he was received with great magnificence, and was present during the celebration of the Passover. He remitted the tax on the sale of the fruits of the earth.

He likewise conferred a benefit on the nation, which was considered of signal importance. By a remarkable accident the custody of the High Priest's robe of office had passed into the hands of the Romans. Hyrcanus had been accustomed to lay them up in the Baris, the castle near the temple. This usage was continued by his successors. Herod having converted the Baris into the strong fortress called Antonia, it afterward became the chief place of arms to the Roman garrison. The Jews, tenacious of ancient customs, did not think of removing these important vestments. They thus fell into the power of the foreign rulers, who, as the High Priest could not officiate without them, might impede or prevent the performance of the temple ceremonies. They were kept in a stone building, and sealed by the seal of the High Priest, from whence they were taken with great ceremony, seven days before the feast, and purified; after they had been used, they were replaced with the same care. Vitellius gave up the robes to the High Priest, and they were transferred to a treasury within the temple. Vitellius degraded Caiaphas from the High priesthood, and substituted Jonathan, son of Ananus, or Annas. He then returned to Antioch.

During this period, the other two sons of Herod had reigned in peace over their respective provinces; Herod Antipas, as Tetrarch of Galilee, in Sepphoris his capital; Philip, in the district beyond the Jordan. Both had endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with the reigning emperor by the costly flattery of founding or ornamenting cities to be called after his name. Philip called Paneas, Cæsarea; and Bethsaida, Julias. Antipas called Betharampha, Julias, after the wife of the emperor, and founded Tiberias on the lake of Genesareth. The city having been built over an ancient cemetery, Herod was obliged to use force and bribes to induce the people to settle there. Philip was a prince of

great justice and humanity; wherever he went, the divan of justice followed him; and directly any appeal was made to his tribunal, a court was formed and the cause decided. He died about this time without issue, his territory was annexed to the province of Syria.

Herod had seduced and married Herodias his niece, the wife of Herod Philip, a son of Herod the Great, by Mariamne, daughter of Simon the High Priest, not Philip the Tetrarch. It was on her account that he put to death John the Baptist. This marriage led him into danger as well as into crime. His repudiated wife was a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia. This prince took arms to avenge the wrong and insult offered to his daughter, and in a battle, the whole army of Herod was cut off. Herod sent to entreat the interference of Tiberius, who gave orders to Vitellius to chastise the insolence of Aretas. Vitellius set his troops in motion to advance on Petra, the Arabian capital. His march lay through Judæa, but the heads of the people sent an earnest request that he would not display his standards, which were adorned with images, within their territory. Vitellius complied; he sent his army across the Jordan, and himself, with Herod and his friends, went up a second time to witness the Passover at Jerusalem. He deposed the High Priest Jonathan, and substituted his brother Theophilus. On the fourth day of the festival, intelligence arrived of the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula. Vitellius dismissed his troops to their quarters, and returned to Antioch.

The accession of Caligula was an event of the greatest importance to another branch of the Herodian family—Agrippa, the son of Aristobulus, one of the two unfortunate princes, the sons of Herod the Great by Mariamne, the Asmonean. The early life of Agrippa had been a strange course of adventure and vicissitude. On his father's execution, he was

sent to Rome, where he enjoyed the favour of Antonia, the widow of the elder Drusus; the brother of Tiberius. Antonia entertained a sincere friendship for Berenice, the mother of Agrippa, and under her protection the young Idumean prince attached himself to the person of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. Agrippa inherited the profusion, but not the wealth, of the Herodian race. On his mother's death, he speedily dissipated his whole property, and found himself overwhelmed with debts. His associate, Drusus, died; and Tiberius issued orders that none of the youth's intimate companions should be admitted into his presence, lest they should awaken the melancholy recollection of his beloved son. Agrippa, in the utmost distress, retreated to his native land, and took up his residence at Malatha, an insignificant village in Idumæa. There, he was in such a state of destitution, that he began to entertain designs of ridding himself of his miserable life by suicide. At length he had recourse to his sister Herodias, the incestuous wife of Herod Antipas. Through her interest he obtained a welcome reception at Sepphoris, where the Ethnarch of Galilee held his court. From Antipas he obtained a yearly allowance, and the government of Tiberias. But Herod, during the conviviality of a banquet, having cast some reflection on his pensioner, the indignant Agrippa withdrew from Galilee, and retired to the protection of Pomponius Flaccus, the Prefect of Syria, into whose good graces he insinuated himself with hereditary address. At Antioch he met his step-brother Aristobulus, but there was not much fraternal amity between them, and Aristobulus seized the opportunity of supplanting his rival in the favour of the Roman Prefect. Agrippa received a bribe, to secure his interest with Flaccus, from the inhabitants of Damascus, who were engaged in a dispute about their borders with the Sidonians. Detected in this discreditable transaction through the jealous vigi-

lance of his brother, he was forced to leave Antioch in disgrace, and retired to Ptolemais in a state of the lowest indigence. There, through his freedman Marsyas, he tried in vain all the money-lenders, for he had neither bondsman nor security to offer, till at last a freedslave of his mother lent him 17,500 drachms on a promissory bond for 20,000. With this sum he got to Anthedon, intending to sail for Rome. But he was suddenly arrested by Herennius Capito, Prefect of Jamnia, for a debt of 300,000 drachms, which he had borrowed at Rome of the Imperial Exchequer. Agrippa promised to settle the debt, but his vessel slipping her cables by night, he escaped to Alexandria. There his wife Cypros prevailed on the Jewish Alabarch to lend him 200,000 drachms. The prudent Alabarch, however, advanced only five talents, promising that the rest should be forthcoming on his arrival in Italy. With this money, having sent his wife back to Palestine, Agrippa set sail for Rome. On his landing at Puteoli, he sent a letter to Tiberius, then at Capræ. The emperor sent to congratulate him on his arrival, invited him to Capræ, and entertained him with great courtesy, till a despatch arrived from Herennius Capito, relating his dishonourable evasion from Anthedon. He was forbidden the imperial presence, and retired in disgrace to Rome. But his mother's friend, Antonia, still protected him. She lent him a sum sufficient to discharge his debt to the imperial treasury, and Agrippa was reinstated in the favour of Tiberius. The emperor recommended him to attach himself to the person of his grandson, the younger Tiberius; but the Jewish prince, with better fortune or judgment, preferred that of Caius Caligula. In this state of advancement, he borrowed a million drachms of Thallus, a Samaritan freedman of Cæsar, and repaid his debt to Antonia. Unfortunately one day when he was riding with Caligula in a chariot, he expressed aloud his earnest

petition to Providence, that Tiberius might speedily be removed, in order to make room for a more worthy successor. The speech was overheard by Euty-chus, a freedman, the driver of the chariot. Euty-chus, punished for a theft, hastened to revenge himself by laying a charge against his master. The dilatory Tiberius, according to his custom, postponed the examination of the accused, who remained in prison; till Agrippa, imprudently, or having forgot the whole affair, urged on the inquiry, and the fact was clearly proved. Tiberius was already offended at the court paid by Agrippa to the young Caius; and suddenly, in the public circus, commanded Macron, the captain of his guard, "to put that man in chains." Macron, surprised at the sudden change, delayed the execution of the command; till Tiberius returning to the same spot, he demanded against whom the order was directed. The emperor sternly pointed to Agrippa, and, notwithstanding his humble supplications, the heir of the Asmonean princes, clad as he was in the royal purple, was put in fetters, like a common malefactor. The day was excessively sultry, and a slave of Caligula, passing by with a vessel of water, Agrippa entreated for a draught. The slave complied, and Agrippa promised that when he should be released from his chains, he would repay the kindness through his interest with Caligula—a promise which, to his honour, he faithfully kept. Even in this fallen condition, Antonia did not desert the son of her friend Berenice, she obtained for him some mitigation of the discomforts and privations of his prison. At length his release arrived. Immediately on the death of Tiberius, Marsyas, his faithful freed-slave, hastened to his master's dungeon, and communicated the joyful intelligence, saying in the Hebrew language, "The lion is dead." The centurion on guard inquired the cause of their rejoicing; and when he had extorted the information from Agrippa, anxious to propitiate

the favour of a prisoner, whose advancement he foresaw, he ordered his chains to be struck off, and invited him to supper. While they were at table, a rumour reached the prison that Tiberius was still living. The affrighted centurion bitterly reproached Agrippa with betraying him into so serious a breach of discipline, and ordered him immediately to be re-loaded with his chains. That night Agrippa passed in the most anxious state of suspense and apprehension. With the morning the news was confirmed, and shortly after Caligula entered Rome in imperial state. On the very day of his entry, but for the prudence of Antonia, he would have commanded the release of his friend. A short time after he sent the order for his liberation, received him at his court, and conferred on him the vacant Tetrarchate of Philip, with the title of king. He presented him likewise with a chain of gold, of the same weight with that of iron, with which he had been fettered.

Agrippa remained that year in Rome; during the next, the second of Caligula's reign, he arrived in Palestine with royal pomp, to take possession of his dignity. But if the good fortune of Agrippa excited the general wonder, it aroused the bitterest jealousy in the mind of Herodias, the wife of Herod the Tetrarch of Galilee. She saw the splendour of her husband eclipsed by the beggarly spendthrift, who, although her own brother, had been dependant on their charity. The evil passions of this woman were as fatal to the prosperity as to the virtue of Herod. Her insatiable and envious ambition would not allow him to rest, till he had obtained a royal title which should set him on a level with the upstart Agrippa. Herod, whose character is described as cool and crafty, (he is designated in the Gospel as "that fox Herod,") was carried away by her perpetual urgency, and in an inauspicious hour, he undertook a journey to Rome in order to solicit the

title of king. Agrippa instantly despatched a messenger to counterwork the intrigues and outbid the bribery of Herod. The messenger made such good speed as to arrive at Baizæ before the Tetrarch. Agrippa's letter to Caligula accused Herod of former intrigues with Sejanus, and secret intelligence with the Parthians. It charged him particularly with having laid up a great store of arms in case of a revolt. Directly Herod appeared, the emperor closely questioned him upon the plain fact, whether he had furnished his palace with large quantities of warlike stores. The Tetrarch could not deny the charge, and Caligula immediately deprived him of the Ethnarchate, which he added to the dominions of Agrippa, and ordered him into banishment. Lyons in Gaul was the place of his exile; and thus in the same remote province two sons of the magnificent Herod were condemned to waste their inglorious lives by the summary sentence of the Roman emperor.

On account of her relationship to Agrippa, Caligula was inclined to exempt Herodias from the disgrace of her husband, he offered to restore her to all the possessions which she could claim as her own. In a nobler spirit than could have been expected from such a woman, Herodias rejected his mercy, and determined to share the fortunes of her banished husband.

Up to the reign of Caligula the Jews had enjoyed, without any serious interruption, the universal toleration, which Roman policy permitted to the religion of the subject states. If the religion had suffered a temporary proscription at Rome under Tiberius, it was as a foreign superstition supposed, from the misconduct of individuals, to be dangerous to the public morals in the metropolis. Judaism remained undisturbed in the rest of the empire; and although the occasional insolence of the Roman governors in Judæa might display itself in acts offensive to the



religious feelings of the natives, yet the wiser and more liberal, like Vitellius, studiously avoided all interference with that superstition which they respected or despised. But the insane vanity of Caligula made him attempt to enforce from the whole empire those divine honours which his predecessors condescended to receive from the willing adulation of their subjects. Every where statues were raised, and temples built, in honour of the deified emperor. The Jews could not submit to the mandate without violating the first principle of their religion, nor resist it without exposing their whole nation to the resentment of their masters.

The storm began to lower around them: its first violence broke upon the Jews in Alexandria, where, however, the collision with the ruling authorities, first originated in the animosities of the Greek and Jewish factions, which divided the city. This great and populous city, besides strangers from all quarters, was inhabited by three distinct races, the native Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks. The native Egyptians were generally avoided as of an inferior class, but the Jews boasted of edicts from the founder of the city, and from other monarchs of Egypt, which entitled them to equal rank and estimation with the descendants of the Macedonian settlers. They were numerous: Philo calculates that in Egypt they amounted to a million of souls; they were opulent, and among the most active traders of that great commercial metropolis; it is probable that they were turbulent, and not the peaceful and unoffending people described by their advocate Philo—at all events they were odious to the Greek population. The Roman prefect at this period was Flaccus Aquilius. For the last five years Flaccus had administered the affairs of this important province, and the municipal government of this unruly city, with equal vigour and discretion. His attention to business, his perfect acquaintance with the usages, interests, and

factions of the whole country; his dignity on the tribunal of justice; his prudence in suppressing all clubs and assemblies of the lower orders, which were held under the pretence of religion, but were acknowledged to be dangerous to the public peace, excited universal admiration. He had introduced a system of good and equal laws into the city, while by constant reviews of the military forces, he had both improved the discipline of the army, and overawed the turbulent and disaffected by the display of his power. The death of Tiberius, according to Philo, wrought a total change in this wise and upright character; Flaccus had attached himself to the party of the younger Tiberius, and apprehended the resentment of the new emperor. He became careless of business, remiss in all the great duties of his station, his vigorous mind seemed paralyzed. The death of his friend Macro, who alone repressed the violence of Caligula, deprived him of his last hope of maintaining himself in the imperial favour; he determined, therefore, to ingratiate himself with the people of Alexandria, in order that their good report might plead his cause, and commend the wisdom of his government with the emperor. With this view he relaxed the sternness of his police, and allowed the Grecian party to proceed to every outrage and insult on the hated Jewish population. The accidental arrival of King Agrippa was the signal for this collision of the two factions. On his way to Palestine, where he was going to take possession of his kingdom, Agrippa, to avail himself of the Etesian winds, sailed direct to Alexandria. He arrived unexpectedly in the evening, and landed in the night that he might avoid all unnecessary display. According to Philo, the sight of a Jew, honoured with a royal title, and surrounded by guards, whose armour glittered with gold and silver, exasperated the envious Alexandrians. They insulted him; wrote pasquinades against him, probably

alluding to the beggarly condition in which he had before appeared in Alexandria; brought him on the stage, and even proceeded to a more offensive practical jest.

There was a poor idiot named Carabas, who used to wander naked about the streets, the butt of idle and mischievous boys. Him they seized, and placed on a lofty seat near the Gymnasium, dressed him in an old mat for a robe, put a paper crown on his head, and a cane in his hand for a sceptre; boys with sticks for halberds went before him to represent his body-guard; and, to complete the parody on the royal state of Agrippa, some did him homage, some presented petitions, some addressed him on affairs of state, and called him by a word which signified "Lord" in the Syrian language. Flaccus, though outwardly he showed all possible respect to Agrippa, secretly connived at their insulting proceedings, and even fomented them. This, however, is the most improbable part of Philo's story, for if it was the main object of Flaccus to secure the favour of Caligula, no man of his prudence would unnecessarily have offended his acknowledged friend and favourite. Agrippa, probably, soon withdrew from the inhospitable city, bearing with him a decree of the Jews, in which they offered to Caligula all the honours compatible with their law. This decree Flaccus had promised to forward, but had treacherously withholden from the knowledge of the Emperor. Encouraged by the apparent connivance of the prefect, the Greek faction assembled in the theatre, and demanded with loud cries, that the statue of the Emperor should be placed in all the Jewish proseuchæ, their oratories or places of prayer. They then proceeded to carry their own demands into execution; they cut down the trees which surrounded those picturesque places of worship, burnt some, profaned the rest by erecting images within them; in the most considerable they determined to place a

great statue in a chariot drawn by four horses. Not having a chariot ready, they seized an old one which had before belonged to Cleopatra, an ancestress of the celebrated Egyptian queen of that name. A few days after their oratories had thus been violated, Flaccus issued an edict, in which the Jews were called strangers; thus depriving them at once of their boasted rights of citizenship. Philo would persuade us that the Jews had not given the slightest provocation, and bore all these repeated outrages with the utmost meekness. This is not probable; and the next measure of the governor seems as if it had been intended to separate the two conflicting parties; and so secure the peace of the distracted city. Alexandria was divided into five quarters, named from the first five letters of the alphabet. Two of these were entirely peopled by Jews, and many of them dwelt scattered about in the other three. They were ordered to retire into one of these districts, which was so much too small to contain them, that they spread about upon the sea shore, and in the cemeteries. The vacant houses in the quarter from which they had retired were pillaged by the mob; the magazines and shops which were shut on account of a general mourning for Drusilla, the Emperor's sister, were broken open; the goods openly shared in the market place. Philo complains that great distress was caused by the pledges being taken away from the brokers, whence it appears that the Jews had already taken up the profession of money-lenders. But this was not the worst. Cooped up in one narrow quarter of the city they began to suffer dreadfully from the heat and unwholesomeness of the air. Pestilential disorders broke out, and though the year was plentiful, they suffered all the miseries of famine, for they were almost besieged in their quarter. Those who ventured out into the market were robbed, insulted, maltreated, pursued with sticks and stones. Blood-

shed soon ensued, many were slain with the sword; others trampled to death, some, even while alive, were dragged by their heels through the streets, when dead, their bodies were still dragged along till they were torn to pieces, or so disfigured that they could not be distinguished, if at length recovered by their friends. Those who strayed out of the city to breathe the purer air of the country, or the strangers who incautiously entered the walls to visit and relieve their friends, were treated in the same way, and beaten with clubs till they were dead. The quays were watched, and on the landing of a Jewish vessel, the merchandise was plundered, the owners and their vessel burnt, their houses were likewise set on fire, and whole families, men, women, and children, burnt alive. Yet even this was a merciful death compared with the sufferings of others. Sometimes from want of wood, they could collect only a few wet sticks, and over these, stifled with smoke, and half consumed, the miserable victims slowly expired. Sometimes they would mock their sufferings by affected sorrow, but if any of their own relatives or friends betrayed the least emotion they were seized, scourged, tortured, and even crucified.

During all these horrible scenes, Flaccus, who could at once have put an end to the tumult, looked on in calm indifference. He now, according to his accuser, openly took part against them. He sent for the principal Jews, as if to mediate an accommodation, in reality only to find new pretexts for cruelty. The Jews had their Alabarch or chief magistrate, and their council or senate. Flaccus ordered thirty-eight of the most distinguished members of this body to be seized, bound them as criminals, and, although it was the emperor's birthday, a day of public rejoicing, they were brought into the theatre, and publicly scourged with such cruelty that many of them died instantly of the blows, others, shortly after, of the mischiefs they received. It

was thought an aggravation of this cruelty, that as there were different kinds of flagellation according to the rank of the criminal, these distinguished men were condemned to that usually inflicted on the basest. Those who escaped with life, were thrown into prison; others of this miserable race were seized and crucified. It was the morning spectacle of the theatre to see the Jews scourged, tortured both with the rack and with pulleys, and then led away to execution; and to this horrible tragedy immediately succeeded farces and dances and other theatrical amusements. Women were occasionally seized, and exposed to the public view—sometimes female peasants were taken for Jewesses, when discovered they were let go; if any doubt remained, swine's flesh was brought and the women commanded to eat; those who complied were released, those who refused, treated with every kind of indignity.

As if to justify these cruelties by an apparent dread of insurrection, Flaccus sent a centurion, Castus, to search all the houses of the Jews for concealed arms. The search was conducted with the utmost rigour, even the women's apartments ransacked, but no weapon was found more dangerous than common knives used for domestic purposes.

At length the hour of retribution arrived; all the attempts of Flaccus to secure the favour of Caligula were unavailing; a centurion, Bassus, was sent to arrest him. Bassus proceeded, not with the boldness of a messenger armed with an imperial edict, but as if he had to surprise an independent sovereign in the midst of loyal subjects; it seems to warrant a suspicion, either that Flaccus entertained some design of revolting, or at least, that his popularity at Alexandria was so great as to render his capture difficult and dangerous. Bassus arrived at night, landed secretly, and found that Flaccus was abroad,

at a banquet given by one Stephanio, a freedman of Tiberius. One of his followers mingled with the guests, and finding that the governor was only attended by eight or ten slaves, Bassus surrounded the chamber with his soldiers, and displayed the imperial edict. Flaccus at once saw his fate, and was led away without resistance. It was the feast of Tabernacles: but the sad and persecuted Jews had little inclination for the usual joy and merriment of the season. When the rumour of the apprehension of Flaccus spread abroad, they supposed it to be a deception intended to tempt them to rejoicings, which would be cruelly revenged. When the intelligence was confirmed, they began to praise God, and during the whole night the people were occupied in hymns and songs of thanksgiving. The wrath of heaven, as they believed, now pursued the miserable Flaccus, he had a tempestuous voyage; on his arrival at Rome, he was accused by Lampo and Isidore, two men of the basest character, his property was confiscated, and he himself banished first to Gyara, an island in the Ægean Sea, proverbial for the hard fate of those who were exiled to its shores. By the interest of Lepidus he obtained a commutation of this punishment, and was sent to Andros, where he arrived after a disastrous voyage, and after having been an object of contempt or commiseration in the various towns through which he passed. Philo asserts that he was haunted by bitter remorse for his cruelties towards the Jews. He was soon after put to death by order of Caligula.

Thus Philo describes the persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria, and the conduct of Flaccus, but it may be justly suspected that both the sufferings and the peaceful disposition of his countrymen are highly coloured; and in the character and motives of Flaccus there appears so much inconsistency, as perpetually to remind us that we are reduced to fol.

low the narrative of an advocate, not that of a dispassionate historian.

A deputation from each of the parties in Alexandria, arrived in Rome, to lay the whole history of the late disturbances before the emperor. At the head of the Grecian party was Apion, a man of eloquence, and a determined enemy to the Jews; on the other side appeared Philo, the author from whose writings the recent account has been extracted, a man of rank, for he was the brother of the Alabarch, and of unquestioned ability. The reception which the Jewish party met with at first was apparently flattering; Philo alone apprehended an unfavourable event. They presented a memorial, which the Emperor seemed to receive with gayety and urbanity. They then followed the court to Puteoli: their great object was to obtain the security of their *Proseuchæ* from being desecrated by images. These oratories they possessed in every city where they resided. While they were discussing their hopes of succeeding in this great object of their mission, suddenly a man rushed in with a pale and disordered countenance, and communicated the dreadful intelligence, that an edict had been issued to place the statue of the Emperor within the temple of Jerusalem.

The mad vanity of Caligula had been irritated by the resistance of the Jews in Alexandria; other circumstances, combined with evil counsellors, made him determine to triumph over what he considered the disloyal obstinacy of this self-willed people. Capito, a receiver of revenue in Judæa, at first a very poor man, had grown rich in his employment, and apprehended that complaints of his exactions might reach the ear of the Emperor. He determined therefore, that his accusers should appear in an unfavourable light, and, to this end, he persuaded certain Greeks, who lived mingled with the native population in Jamnia, to build a miserable altar of



brick in honour of Caius. The Jews, as he expected, rose and demolished the altar; they then carried their complaints before Capito himself, who seized the opportunity of representing the affair in Rome, as an act of wanton and unprovoked sedition.

The evil counsellors of Caligula, were Helicon, an Egyptian, a slave by birth, a buffoon by occupation; and Apelles,\* a tragic actor, of Ascalon, in Syria. Both these men were born and brought up in hostility to the Jewish race. By their advice the fatal mandate was issued, that a gilded colossal statue of Caligula should be placed in the Holy of Holies, and that the temple should be dedicated to Caius, the present and younger Jupiter. The execution of the edict was intrusted to P. Petronius, who was appointed to succeed Vitellius as prefect of Syria. But before we describe the attempt to enforce this edict in Palestine, it may be well to anticipate the fate of the Alexandrian deputation, which is related by Philo, and is curiously characteristic both of the Emperor and of the estimation in which the Jews were generally held. After a long and wearisome attendance, the deputies were summoned to a final audience. To judge so grave a cause, as Philo complains with great solemnity, the Emperor did not appear in a public court, encircled by the wisest of his senators; the embassy was received in the apartments of two contiguous villas in the neighbourhood of Rome, called after Lamia and Mæcenas. The bailiffs of these villas were commanded at the same time to have all the rooms thrown open for the Emperor's inspection. The Jews entered, made a profound obeisance, and saluted Caligula as Augus-

\* If Apelles was instrumental in this transaction, he met with just though horrible retribution. Suetonius relates, that as he was standing with Caligula near a statue of Jupiter, the Emperor suddenly asked him which of the two was the greater. Apelles hesitated, and Caligula ordered him to be scourged with the utmost violence, praising the sweetness of his voice all the time that he was shrieking in his agony.

tus and Emperor—but the sarcastic smile on the face of Caius gave them little hope of success. “You are then,” he said, showing his teeth as he spoke, “those enemies of the gods who alone refuse to acknowledge my divinity, but worship a Deity whose name you dare not pronounce”—and here, to the horror of the Jews, he uttered the awful name. The Greek deputies from Alexandria, who were present, thought themselves certain of their triumph, and began to show their exultation by insulting gestures; and Isidore, one of the accusers of Flaccus, came forward to aggravate the disobedience of the Jews. He accused them of being the only nation who had refused to sacrifice for the Emperor. The Jews with one voice disclaimed the calumny, and asserted that they had three times offered sacrifice for the welfare of the Emperor—and indeed had been the first to do so on his accession. “Be it so,” rejoined the Emperor, “ye have sacrificed for me, but not to me.” The Jews stood aghast, and trembling. On a sudden, Caius began to run all over the house, up stairs and down stairs; inspecting the men’s and the women’s apartments; finding fault, and giving orders, while the poor Jews followed him from room to room, amid the mockery of the attendants. After he had given his orders, the Emperor suddenly turned round to them: “Why is it that you do not eat pork?” The whole court burst into peals of laughter. The Jews temperately replied, that different nations have different usages: some persons would not eat lamb. “They are right,” said the Emperor, “it is an insipid meat.” After further trial of their patience, he demanded, with his usual abruptness, on what they grounded their right of citizenship. They began a long and grave legal argument; but they had not proceeded far, when Caius began to run up and down the great hall, and to order that some blinds, of a kind of transparent stone, like glass, which admit-

ted the light, and excluded the heat and air, should be put up against the windows. As he left that room, he asked the Jews, with a more courteous air, if they had any thing to say to him; they began again their harangue, in the middle of which he started away into another chamber, to see some old paintings. The Jews at length were glad to retreat, and felt happy to escape with their lives. Caius gave them their dismissal in these words: "Well, after all, they do not seem so bad; but rather a poor foolish people, who cannot believe that I am a god."

The instructions to Petronius, the Syrian governor, were distinct and precise; he was to place the statue of Caligula in the temple of Jerusalem at all hazards. He was to withdraw, if necessary, the two legions which were usually stationed on the Euphrates. Yet he was too prudent and humane, not to hesitate; he called a council, where the bigoted attachment of the Jews to their temple, and their formidable numbers both in Judæa and other countries, were discussed. But it was unanimously agreed that the mandate of the Emperor was imperative; and Petronius issued out orders to the Sidonian workmen to make the statue. He then collected his troops, and went into winter-quarters at Ptolemais. He had made known to the priests and rulers of the Jews the designs of the Emperor; but no sooner had the intelligence spread, than many thousands of the people assembled from all quarters, without distinction of rank, age, or sex. They covered the country for a great distance like a vast cloud; they were unarmed and defenceless: many of them were clad in sackcloth, and had ashes on their heads—and every mark of the deepest mourning. All with one voice declared their steadfast and deliberate resolution to sacrifice their lives, rather than consent to the profanation of their temple. Petronius sternly rebuked them, and insisted on his own obligation to fulfil the positive commands of

his sovereign. (They answered, that they were as much bound to respect the ordinances of their God—that no fear of death would induce them to the violation of their law—that they dreaded the wrath of their God more than that of the Emperor.

Petronius shrunk from the horrible task of commencing a war of massacre and extermination for such an object; and in order to obtain more certain information on the state of the country, he left his troops at Ptolemais, and himself, with some of his more distinguished officers, moved to Tiberias. Here many of the rulers, and the people by thousands, crowded again into his presence. Once more Petronius urged the power of the Romans, the positive mandate of the Emperor, and the uniform obedience of all other nations. The Jews replied with entreaties and supplications, that he would not think of violating their sanctuary with the images of man. "Are ye resolved then," said the Roman, "to wage war against your Emperor?" "We have no thought of war," they replied unanimously; "but we will submit to be massacred rather than infringe our law"—and at once the whole body fell with their faces to the earth, and declared that they were ready to offer their throats to the swords of the soldiery.

For forty days this scene lasted: it was the time for sowing; and the whole land remained uncultivated. Aristobulus, the brother of Agrippa—Helcias, called the Great—and others of the most distinguished men of the nation—appeared before Petronius, and remonstrated with him on the impolicy of reducing a flourishing province to a desert, from which no tribute could be drawn. The people, they urged, were obstinately determined not to till the soil, and would betake themselves to robbery; so that it was impossible to calculate the dreadful results of his persisting in the odious measure. They entreated that he would forward their repre-

sentations to Caligula, in hopes that the Emperor might yet be persuaded to relent.

The humane Petronius, after holding a council with his friends, determined to risk the wrath of the Emperor, rather than deluge the whole country with blood. According to one account, he determined not to forward the petition of the Jews, but to delay, under the pretence of allowing time for the statue to be finished; and to represent the inconvenience of permitting the province to remain uncultivated, more particularly as the Emperor and the court were about to visit Alexandria. But whatever turn he gave to the affair in his despatches to Rome, he assembled the people at Tiberias—declared his determination to suspend the execution of the decree till he should receive further instructions—and promised that he would use all his interest to obtain the total repeal of the edict. He well knew the danger to which he exposed himself by his disobedience to the imperial decree; but he was willing to stand the hazard, in order to preserve the Jewish people from the horrors of war. He exhorted them in the mean time to disperse peaceably, and betake themselves to their usual occupations and to the tillage of their lands. The season had been uncommonly sultry; the customary rains had not fallen. But scarcely had Petronius ended his speech, than the day, which had been till then serene, became overcast, and the showers began to fall. The people saw the mark of the divine approbation with unmingled satisfaction; Petronius himself is said to have been greatly struck by this singular coincidence.

The Jews, however, owed their security rather to the interest of their king, than to the humanity of the prefect. Throughout the history of the whole preceding transaction, our two authorities, Philo and Josephus, have differed in many most important particulars. It is scarcely possible to reconcile

their narrative of the conduct of Agrippa. According to the former, the despatches of Petronius threw Caligula into one of his most violent paroxysms of fury. Before he had recovered, Agrippa entered, and from his fiery eye and disordered countenance, apprehended that something was wrong. Caligula suddenly turned upon him, and broke out into the bitterest reproaches against his countrymen for their obstinate resistance to his will. The Jewish prince was so appalled, that he trembled in every limb; he fainted away; and would have fallen to the ground, but that his attendants caught him, and removed him from the imperial presence. Till the next evening he remained without giving signs of life and consciousness. At length he opened his eyes, and then fainted again. The third day he came to himself, and inquired with a shudder whether he was still in the dreaded presence of the Emperor. His attendants urged him to rise, to bathe and take refreshment; he refused all sustenance, except some flour and pure water. He then sat down, and wrote a long letter to Caius; but that which is extant in Philo's work displays too much of the Alexandrian orator to induce us to suppose it genuine. Such is the narrative of Philo—that of Josephus is more creditable to the character of the king. Agrippa having entertained Caligula at a banquet so sumptuous as to excite astonishment even in that age of prodigal luxury and magnificence, the Emperor offered to grant any request that he might make. Agrippa, with a feeling worthy of one who had the blood of the Asmoneans in his veins, instead of demanding an accession of wealth or territory, immediately petitioned for the repeal of the fatal edict. The wounded pride of Caligula struggled hard with his attachment to Agrippa, and with the shame of forfeiting the imperial word, which he had given with so much publicity. At last, however, he relented, and the fatal decree was suspended. At the

same time the disobedience of Petronius was not to be pardoned. A letter was written, in which he was accused of having preferred the bribes of the Jews to his allegiance to his sovereign; and he was commanded to prepare himself, as about to undergo the most exemplary punishment. But this letter was accidentally delayed, and the news of Caligula's death reached Petronius first. If Philo is to be credited, this event was equally fortunate for the Jewish nation; for Caligula, with his customary irresolution, repented of his lenity, and ordered a colossal statue of bronze to be cast, which he intended, when he should arrive at Alexandria, where he was to be solemnly inaugurated as a god, to have placed by stealth in the temple of Jerusalem.

It might seem as if the skirts of that tremendous tempest, which was slowly gathering over the native country and the metropolis of the Jewish people, broke, and discharged their heavy clouds of ruin and desolation successively over each of the more considerable, though remote, settlements of the devoted people. The Jews of Babylonia had now their turn. There is something very remarkable in the history of this race, for the most part descendants of those families which had refused to listen to the summons of Zorobabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and to return to the possession of their native lands. It was, perhaps, natural that men born in a foreign region, and knowing the lovely land of their ancestors only by tradition, or by the half-forgotten descriptions of their departed parents, should hesitate to abandon their houses, their fields, and their possessions, in the hospitable country, to which their fathers had been transported by force, but where they themselves had become naturalized. But the singular part of their history is this, that though willing aliens from their native land, they remained Jews in character and religion; they continued to be a separate people, and refused to mingle themselves up with

the population of the country in which they were domiciliated. While those who returned to Palestine were in danger of forming a mixed race, by intermarriages with the neighbouring tribes, which it required all the sternest exercise of authority in their rulers to prevent, the Babylonian Jews were still as distinct a people as the whole race of Israel has been since the final dispersion. They adhered together, though wanting as well the bond of persecution, as the deep religious hope of restoration to the promised land in more than their ancient glory; for this hope was obviously not strong enough to induce them to avail themselves of the present opportunity of return at the price of their possessions in the Median dominions. Nor did they, like the Jews of Alexandria, become in any degree independent of the great place of national worship; they were as rigid Jews as if they had grown up within sight of the temple. They still looked to the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem as the centre of their faith; they regularly sent their contributions to its support. The passionate attachment to their native country gave place to a more remote, though still profound, attachment to the religious capital of their people. The temple became what the Caaba of Mecca is to the Mahometans, the object of the profoundest reverence, and sometimes of a pious pilgrimage; but the land of their fathers had lost its hold on their affections; they had no desire to exchange the level plains of Babylonia, for the rich pastures, the golden corn-fields, or the rocky vineyards of Galilee and Judæa. This Babylonian settlement was so numerous and flourishing, that Philo more than once intimates the possibility of their marching in such force to the assistance of their brethren in Palestine, in case the Roman oppression was carried to excess, as to make the fate of the war very doubtful. Their chief city, Nearda, was strongly situated in a bend of the river Euphrates, which almost surrounded the town.



Here, in a place impregnable to the Parthian robbers, the Jews of Mesopotamia had made a sort of treasury, in which they laid up the tribute of two drachms a head, which was received for the service of the temple, and at stated intervals transferred to Jerusalem. In this city were two orphans, named Asinai and Anilai, who had been bred up as weavers, probably of those rich stuffs for which Babylonia was so long celebrated. On some ill-usage from the master-manufacturer, they fled to a low district between two branches of the river, where there were rich meadows, and a place where the shepherds used to lay up their stores for the winter. There a number of indigent and discontented youths gathered around them, and they became the captains of a formidable band of robbers. They built a strong fortress, secured by the marshes around, and levied tribute on the shepherds, whom, however, they defended from all other assailants. The Satrap of Babylon determined to suppress them, and seized the favourable opportunity of the Sabbath for his attack. Asinai happened to be reposing among a number of his followers, whose arms lay scattered around: he suddenly exclaimed, "I hear the trampling of horses; it must be more than a troop of wild ones in their pastures, for I hear likewise the jingling of the bridles." Spies were sent out, and the whole band determined to sacrifice their respect for the Sabbath to their self-preservation. They attacked and defeated their assailants with great slaughter. Artabanus, the King of Parthia, heard with admiration of their extraordinary valour, and sent to offer terms of accommodation. Anilai was sent to the court, where the king pledging his personal honour for their security, Asinai was persuaded to follow him. The king paid them great honour, admired their singular personal strength and activity, and refused all the secret solicitations of his officers to rid himself by treachery of such dangerous men.

He even appointed Asinai to the supreme command in Babylonia, with strict injunctions to suppress all robbers. Asinai conducted himself with equal vigour and prudence, and rose to the highest degree of wealth and power. But wealth and power led to their usual consequences, insolence and injustice. Anilai became enamoured of the wife of a Parthian chieftain, whom he excited to hostilities, and slew. This woman, to the great offence of the Jews, adhered to the Parthian religion. The Jews strongly urged on the brother, Asinai, the imperative necessity of preventing this breach of the law in his own family. Asinai at length strongly remonstrated with his brother, and insisted on the dismissal of the woman. His remonstrances were fatal to himself; for the Parthian woman, apprehending some further exercise of authority, poisoned Asinai; and thus the supreme authority passed into the hands of Anilai. Anilai, with equal bravery, but far less prudence and virtue than his brother, attacked the territory of Mithridates, a Parthian chieftain of the highest rank, and connected by marriage with the king, surprised him by an unexpected attack on the Sabbath, and took him prisoner. Contrary to the advice of his more desperate associates, he refused to put him to death, and released him. The royal wife of Mithridates, furious at the disgrace, instigated her husband to revenge; and they assembled considerable forces. Anilai, disdaining to rely on the strength of his marshes, advanced a great way into the plains, where his troops suffered grievously from want of water. In this state they were attacked by Mithridates, and totally defeated. But desperate adventurers flocked from all quarters to the standard of Anilai; his losses were speedily restored, and he waged a marauding war, and carried fire and sword into the Babylonian villages. The Babylonians sent to Nearda, the chief settlement of the Jews, to demand the surrender of Anilai. Those in Nearda

were unable or unwilling to comply with this order. At length the Babylonians surprised the camp of the robber, when his soldiers were sunk in debauchery and sleep, slew the whole band and Anilai himself.

The Babylonians were not content with vengeance against the offenders, but began to commit dreadful reprisals on the whole Jewish population. The Jews, unable to resist, fled in great numbers to Seleucia: six years after, many more took refuge from a pestilence in the same city. Seleucia happened to be divided into two factions; one of the Greeks, the other of the Syrians. The Jews threw themselves into the scale of the Syrians, who thus obtained a superiority, till the Greeks came to terms with the Syrians; and both parties agreed to fall upon the unhappy Jews. As many as 50,000 men were slain. The few who escaped fled to Ctesiphon. Even there the enmity of the Seleucians pursued them; and at length the survivors took refuge in their old quarters, Nearda and Nisibis.

The assassination of Caligula delivered the Jews within the Roman dominion from their immediate danger; and delayed the fatal hour which his madness seemed rapidly hastening. Agrippa was in Rome at that critical period, and, during the confusion which ensued, he sustained an important part. His conduct was honourable to his feelings, as well as to his address and influence. He alone paid the last honours to his murdered friend. He then became mainly instrumental in the peaceful re-establishment of that order of things which, however different from what an ardent lover of the old Roman liberty might have desired, was perhaps the best which the circumstances of the times would admit. He persuaded the Senate to abandon their unavailing resistance to the infuriated soldiery; reassured the weak and unambitious spirit of Claudius; and at the same time dissuaded him from taking those violent measures against the Senate, to which the army

were urging him, and which would have deluged Rome with blood.

His services were amply repaid by the grateful emperor. Agrippa received the investiture of all the dominions which belonged to the Great Herod. Judæa and Samaria were reunited with Galilee, Peræa, and the provinces beyond Jordan, in one kingdom: Abilene, the district at the foot of Antilibanus, was added. Herod, his brother, received the kingdom of Chalcis. This donation of the Jewish kingdom was made with the utmost publicity: the edict which announced it contained a high eulogium on Agrippa; and the act was registered on a brass tablet, in the Capitol. A treaty was formally concluded between the Emperor and Agrippa, in the Forum.

The death of Caligula was the signal for new commotions in Alexandria. The Jews attempted to recover their former rights. Claudius issued a temperate edict, favourable to the Jewish inhabitants of that city, and confirming their privileges. This was followed by a second general decree, which secured the freedom of religious worship to the Jews, throughout the empire: at the same time they were admonished to behave with decency to the religions of other people. Under this decree the inhabitants of Dora were condemned, by Petronius, for wantonly insulting a Jewish synagogue, by placing a statue of Claudius within its walls.

Agrippa returned to his kingdom in great splendour. He displayed the greatest respect for the national religion; he hung up in the temple the golden chain which Caligula had bestowed upon him, as a memorial of the protection of Almighty Providence. He observed the Mosaic law with great exactness; offered sacrifice every day; and abstained from every legal impurity. In all other respects Agrippa aimed at popularity: he remitted the house tax of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Yet

the sterner zealots looked on with jealousy; and while he was absent at Cæsarea, one Simon assembled a number of the people; accused him of violating the law, probably on account of his fondness for theatric exhibitions, and demanded his exclusion from the temple. Agrippa sent for him to Cæsarea; placed him by his side in the public theatre, and mildly inquired whether he saw any thing contrary to the law. Simon was silent; upon which Agrippa dismissed him without molestation.

The conduct of Agrippa to Silas, one of his steady followers, though more severe, can scarcely be considered as an exception to the general mildness of his disposition. Silas had steadfastly adhered to his fortunes, and received as a reward the command of his forces. But presuming on his services, he was perpetually reminding the king of his former low condition. His insolence at last provoked Agrippa to dismiss him from his employment, and imprison him. Once he relented; but the intractable Silas treated his overtures with the utmost arrogance; and Agrippa left him in confinement. Agrippa exercised his supreme authority in Jerusalem by continually displacing the High Priest. He first deposed Theophilus, son of Annas, and substituted Simon, named Cantherus, son of Boethus. Afterward he offered the dignity to Jonathan, son of Annas, who declined it, and his brother Mathias was appointed. Before the close of his reign he degraded Mathias, and substituted Elionæus, son of Simon Cantherus.

Agrippa inherited the magnificent taste for building which distinguished the elder Herod. At Berytus, a city which he highly favoured, he built a splendid theatre, where the most costly musical exhibitions were displayed; and in an amphitheatre in the same city, two troops of gladiators, malefactors, of 700 each, were let loose upon each other; and thus horribly fulfilled the sentence of the law.

In Jerusalem he commenced a more useful work. To the north of the city, a new suburb, called Beze-

tha, had grown up: this he encircled with a wall: and was proceeding to strengthen the whole line of the city fortifications. But Vibius Marsus, who had succeeded Longinus as Prefect of Syria, beheld this proceeding with great suspicion; and, on account of his representations at Rome, Agrippa thought it prudent to desist from the work.

Marsus watched all the motions of the Jewish monarch with the same jealousy. Agrippa, probably with an innocent view of displaying his magnificence, assembled five kings at a great entertainment in Tiberias; Herod, king of Chalcis, his brother; Antiochus, king of Commagene; Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia; Sampsigeranus, king of Emesa; and Polemon, king of Pontus. Marsus arrived at the same time: and Agrippa, out of respect, went forth to receive him; the imperious Roman sent orders to the several kings to withdraw themselves into their own territories. Agrippa was greatly offended; and sent a letter to Claudius, earnestly entreating the recall of Marsus.

Unhappily, besides his splendour, munificence, and conformity to the law, Agrippa sought other means of ingratiating himself with his Jewish subjects, the persecution of the unoffending Christians. He put to death James, the brother of St. John, and threw St. Peter into prison.

Having completed a reign of three years over the whole of Palestine, Agrippa ordered a splendid festival at Cæsarea, in honour of the Emperor. Multitudes of the highest rank flocked together from all quarters. On the second day of the spectacle, at the early dawn, the King entered the theatre in a robe of silver, which glittered with the morning rays of the sun, so as to dazzle the eyes of the whole assembly, and excite general admiration. Some of his flatterers set up a shout—"A present God." Agrippa did not repress the impious adulation, which spread through the theatre. At that moment he looked up, and saw an owl perched

over his head, on a rope. The owl had once been to him a bird of good omen. While he was in chains at Rome, a fellow-prisoner, a German, had augured, from the appearance of one of these birds, his future splendid fortune; but he had added this solemn warning, that when he saw that bird again, at the height of his fortune, he would die within five days. The fatal omen, proceeds Josephus, pierced the heart of the King; and with deep melancholy he said, "Your God will soon suffer the common lot of mortality." He was immediately struck, in the language of the sacred volume, by an angel. He was seized with violent internal pains, and carried to his palace. There he lingered five days in extreme agony; being "eaten of worms," the cause of his intestine disorder. He died in the forty-fourth year of his age, having reigned seven years over part of his dominions, three over the whole of Palestine. He left one son, Agrippa; an elder, Drusus, had died in his infancy; and three daughters, Berenice married to his brother Herod, king of Chalcis; Mariamne, and Drusilla.

The inhabitants of Sebaste and Cæsarea, probably the Greek party, and particularly his own soldiers, expressed the most brutal exultation at the death of Agrippa. They heaped his memory with reproaches, took the statues of his young daughters, carried them to some brothels, and there placing them on the roof, treated them with every kind of indignity. They then made a great feast, to celebrate the *departure* of the King. Claudius heard with great indignation of this ungrateful conduct, and ordered the cohorts in Sebaste and Cæsarea to be removed into Pontus, and their place to be filled by drafts from the legions in Syria. Unhappily this purpose was not executed. The troops remained, with this sentence of disgrace rankling in their hearts, and exasperating them to still greater animosity towards the whole Jewish nation; a chief cause, Josephus adds, of the subsequent disasters

## BOOK XIII.

### THE ROMAN GOVERNORS.

*Cuspius Fadus—Tiberius Alexander—Ventidius Cumanus—Felix—Porcius Festus—Albinus—Gessius Florus—Commencement of the Revolt—The Zealots—Manahem—Massacre of the Jews in the Provinces—Advance and Defeat of Cestius Gallus.*

AT the decease of Herod Agrippa, his son, who bore the same name, was seventeen years old. He was considered too young to bear the burden of royalty; and Judæa relapsed into a Roman province. Cassius Longinus was appointed to the Presidency of Syria. Cuspius Fadus was sent as Governor of Judæa. Fadus administered his office with firmness. He found a civil war disturbing the district beyond the Jordan. The inhabitants of Perea, on some boundary dispute, had attacked the Philadelphians. Fadus seized three of the ringleaders; executed one, named Hannibal, and banished the rest. The easy yoke of Agrippa had permitted the robbers, who perpetually rose up to waste this fertile country, to gain head. Fadus made them feel the vigour of the Roman arm: he cleared the whole country of their bands, and put to death Ptolemy, a noted captain, who had committed great excesses against the Idumeans and Arabians. Apprehending, it may seem, that the High Priest possessed too much independent authority, Fadus proceeded to revoke the edict of Vitellius, by which the custody of the pontifical robes had been surrendered. He commanded that they should be replaced in the garrison of Antonia; and Longinus himself appeared in Jerusalem, with a considerable force, to overawe all resistance. The Jews appealed to the Emperor.



who, at the earnest entreaty of young Agrippa, issued an imperial mandate in favour of the Jews. At the same time Herod, king of Chalcis, petitioned, and obtained the sovereignty over the temple, and the power of nominating the High Priest. He displaced Cantherus, who had regained the office, and appointed Joseph, son of Camith:

This was the second year of a grievous famine, which for several years prevailed in Judæa. The metropolis derived great advantage from the bounty of a royal proselyte, Helena, the queen of Adiabene, a district beyond the Tigris. She imported vast quantities of corn from Alexandria, and dried figs from Cyprus, which she distributed among the lower orders. Her son, Izates, who had likewise adopted the Jewish faith, sent great sums to Jerusalem, for the same charitable purposes. Helena was both the wife and sister, according to the ancient Persian usage, of Monobazus, king of Adiabene. Izates was the favourite son of that monarch, who, apprehensive of the jealousy with which he was looked on by his brothers, sent them to Abennerig, king of Characene, a district on the Persian gulf, whose daughter he married. In that commercial district there was a Jew merchant, named Ananias, who was accustomed to have free ingress into the women's apartments, probably for purposes of traffick; and there seized every opportunity of teaching the religious tenets of the Jews. Izates became a convert; and, by a singular coincidence, his mother, Helena, at the same time adopted the same opinions. On the return of Izates to Adiabene, his father made him governor of a district named Carrhæ, in which, according to tradition, the remains of Noah's ark were still to be seen. On the death of his father, Helena had the address to secure the succession to the throne for Izates. His brother, Monobazus, assumed the crown till he should arrive; and the rest of the monarch's sons,

by different mothers, were thrown into prison, and were even in danger of their lives. Immediately that Izates appeared, Monobazus abdicated his sovereignty; Izates expressed great indignation at the imprisonment of his brethren. Izates was so ardent a convert that he insisted on undergoing circumcision: his prudent preceptor, Ananias, for fear lest the unpopularity of the measure should make the king odious to his subjects, and himself thus be exposed to personal danger, dissuaded him from his design. But a more zealous Galilean insisted that the honour of God was concerned; and the monarch immediately, to the great alarm of Ananias, submitted to the rite. Izates was a king of great prudence and resolution. By his moderation and address he reinstated Artabanus, king of Parthia, on his throne, from which he had been driven by his own satraps; and dissuaded his son, Bardanes, from entering into a war with the Romans. Bardanes immediately declared war on Izates; but he was set aside by his own subjects. The king's brother, Monobazus, and the chief satraps of the kingdom, endured for some time, but with great reluctance, the yoke of a sovereign who had apostatized from the national religion. They first conspired with Abiah, an Arabian king, to invade Adiabene; but Abiah was defeated with great loss. Afterward they had recourse to Vologeses, king of Parthia; but his invasion was arrested by a rebellion among his own dependants. On the death of Izates, who wore the crown for twenty-four years, his remains, and those of his mother Helena, were transported to Jerusalem, and buried in a splendid cemetery, which remained till the time of Jerome.

Before the recall of Fadus, the peace of the country was disturbed by an impostor, named Theudas, who gave himself out as a prophet, and gained a great number of proselytes. Multitudes thronged forth with all their possessions to the banks of the

Jordan, which Theudas asserted that, like Joshua of old, he would divide in the midst, and carry them through in triumph. Fadus, with his usual vigilance, seized the impostor, cut off his head, and sent it to Jerusalem.

To Fadus succeeded Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Egyptian Jew, the son of Alexander, the Alabarch of Alexandria, and nephew of the celebrated Philo. The only act recorded of his short government was the crucifixion of James and Simon, two sons of Judas the Galilean, who had attempted to disseminate the dangerous doctrines of their father. Notwithstanding, however, the famine, by which the land was still afflicted—the seditious tenets of the Galilean rebels—and the government of an apostate, which must have been singularly odious to the zealous Jews, the province continued in peace until the arrival of Ventidius Cumanus, to supersede Alexander.

At this time Herod, king of Chalcis, died, having once more changed the High Priest, and substituted Ananias, son of Nebid, for Joseph, the son of Camith. He left sons; particularly Aristobulus, afterward appointed by Nero to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia; but the kingdom of Chalcis, and the sovereignty of the temple, were assigned to young Agrippa, who assumed the title of king.

During the government of Cumanus, the low and sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption of the dark volcano now gathering its strength in Palestine, became more distinct. The people and the Roman soldiery began to display mutual animosity. To preserve the peace during the crowded festivals in Jerusalem, the Romans mounted a guard in the Antonia and in the adjacent cloister. One of these soldiers, to show his contempt for the religious rites, indecently exposed his person. The furious populace not only vented their rage on the offender, but uttered the most violent

reproaches against Cumanus himself. The governor immediately ordered his whole forces into the Antonia. The affrighted people fled: the narrow streets were choked; and 20,000 perished. The sacrifice was suspended, and the whole city given up to wailing and lamentation.

This disturbance was scarcely appeased, when another succeeded. Near Bethhoron, about twelve miles from Jerusalem, a party, half insurgents and half robbers, attacked in the public road Stephanas, a slave of the Emperor, and plundered his baggage. Cumanus sent a troop of soldiers, to plunder the neighbouring villages, and seize the chief persons in them. During this scene of pillage, a soldier found a copy of the law of Moses, and tore it to pieces, uttering the most offensive blasphemies. The Jews sent a formal deputation before Cumanus to complain of the insult; Cumanus, by the advice of his friends, ordered the soldier to execution.

The animosities of the populace and the Roman soldiery were not the only conflicting elements in this distracted country. The jealousies of the natives began again to break out. The way by which the Jews of Galilee went up to the temple, led through the territory of Samaria. The Samaritans waylaid and slew many of them. Cumanus, bribed by the Samaritans, refused to take cognizance of any complaints. The Jews, headed by two valiant robber chieftains, took up arms, and set fire to some of the Samaritan villages. Cumanus marched against them; and, with the aid of the Samaritans, defeated them. Jerusalem was in an uproar, and, but for the authority and influence of the chiefs, the whole people would have risen in insurrection. Clad in sackcloth, and with ashes on their heads, the priests and rulers passed through the streets, entreating the insurgents to lay aside their arms, lest they should bring fire and sword on the city, and ruin on the temple. With difficulty the tumult

was allayed in Jerusalem. But the whole country was in a state of confusion. The Samaritans carried their complaints before Ummidius Quadratus, Prefect of Syria. The Jews pleaded the wanton aggression of the Samaritans, and their bribery of Cumanus. Quadratus deferred his judgment, till a short time after, having investigated the affair on the spot, he condemned the Samaritans; but put to death, as seditious persons, all the Jews taken by Cumanus. He then removed his tribunal to Lydda, where he received information that a certain Dortus and others had openly exhorted insurrection against the Romans. He ordered the four ringleaders to be crucified; and sent Ananias, the High Priest, with Annas, the captain of the temple, in chains, for trial at Rome. At the same time Cumanus, and Celer, his military tribune, were also sent to Rome to answer for their conduct before the Emperor. From Lydda, Quadratus moved to Jerusalem, and finding peace entirely re-established, he returned to Antioch.

Great interest was made at Rome by Cumanus, Celer, and the Samaritan party; but the influence of Agrippa, then at Rome, predominated. Cumanus was banished; Celer sent to Jerusalem, to be dragged publicly through the streets and beheaded; the ringleaders of the Samaritans were put to death.

In evil hour for himself and for his country, Jonathan, who had succeeded to the High-Priesthood, exerted his influence to obtain the appointment of governor of Judæa for Claudius Felix, brother of Pallas, the freed-slave and all-powerful favourite of the Emperor. According to Tacitus, who is quite at variance with the Jewish historian, Felix was already in Palestine, as independent governor in Samaria, where he had inflamed the civil commotions, and ought to have appeared with Cumanus as a criminal before the tribunal of Quadratus; but Quadratus, dreading his interest at Rome, placed him by his own side on

the seat of justice. Born a slave, Felix was magnificent in his profligacy. He had three wives, all of royal blood. One of these was the beautiful Drusilla, the daughter of King Agrippa I., whom, by the aid of Simon, a magician (by some, though improbably, supposed the Simon Magus of the Acts), he had seduced from her husband, Aziz, king of Emesa. Aziz had carried his complacency so far as to submit to circumcision in order to obtain the hand of Drusilla, who now gave up her religion to marry Felix. Felix administered the province with the authority of a king, and the disposition of a slave. Supported by the interest of Pallas, says Tacitus, he thought he might commit all crimes with impunity. The land was full of armed robbers, who wasted the country. Felix at first proceeded with vigour and severity against them; but afterward, for his private ends, entered into a confederacy with some of the most daring. The High Priest, Jonathan, assuming the privilege of a friend, like the Christian Apostle, would reason with him *on temperance and righteousness*. His remonstrances, if at the time they produced the same effect, and *made Felix tremble*, were fatal to himself. Felix, weary with his importunity, entered into a secret conspiracy with some of the Sicarii, or assassins, the most extravagant of the school of Judas the Galilean. These were men, some fanatics, some unprincipled desperadoes, who abused the precepts of the Mosaic law, as authorizing the murder of all on whom they might affix the brand of hostility to their country and their God. Having bribed Doras, the intimate friend of Jonathan, through his means Felix sent a party of these wretches into the temple. With their daggers under their cloaks, they mingled with the attendants of the High Priest. They pretended to join in the public worship, and suddenly struck dead the unsuspecting pontiff, who lay bleeding on the sacred pavement. From this period,

says the indignant Josephus, God hated his guilty city, and disdaining any longer to dwell in his contaminated temple, brought the Romans to purify with fire the sins of the nation.

The crime remained unrevengeed and unnoticed. The assassins, imboldened by their impunity, carried on their dreadful work. No man was secure. Some from private enmity, others on account of their wealth, as they pursued their peaceful occupations, were struck dead by men who passed by, apparently unarmed, and as peacefully disposed as themselves. Even the temple was not a place of safety; the worshipper did not know but that the man who knelt by his side was preparing to plunge his dagger to his heart.

Such was the state of the city; the country was not much more secure. The robbers multiplied, and grew more bold. Nor were these the worst; in every quarter arose impostors, and pretenders to magic, who, asserting their miraculous powers, led the people into desert places, and harangued them on the impiety of obedience to the Roman government. Felix in vain scoured the country with his horse; as fast as some were seized and crucified, others arose, and the fanatical spirit of the people constantly received new excitement. The most formidable of these men, was a Jew of Egyptian birth. He assembled in the desert, probably that of Quarantania, between Jerusalem and Jericho, as many as 30,000 followers. He led them to the Mount of Olives, and pointing to the city below, assured them that its walls would fall down and admit his triumphal entrance. Felix marched out to attack him: the Egyptian escaped; but many of his followers were killed, and many taken, the rest dispersed.

In the meantime Claudius died, having promoted Agrippa from the kingdom of Chalcis to the more extensive dominion—the Tetrarchate of Philip,

Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Paneas, to which were afterward added part of Galilee and Peræa. On the whole, the government of Claudius was favourable to the race of Israel; but rather as subjects of his friend Agrippa, than as Jews. At one time he closed their synagogues, and expelled them from Rome—probably on account of some tumult caused by their persecutions of the Christians. Agrippa appointed Ismael, son of Fabi to the pontificate, vacant since the death of Jonathan—though in this interval, probably, a kind of illegitimate authority had been resumed by that Ananias, son of Nebid, who had been sent in chains to Rome by Quadratus, and had been released through the influence of Agrippa. It was that Ananias who commanded St. Paul to be struck, when he was addressing the people. St. Paul either did not know, or did not recognise his doubtful title.

Up to this period, according to the representation of the Jewish annalist, the pontificate had remained almost entirely uncontaminated by the general license and turbulence which distracted the nation. The priests were in general moderate and upright men, who had endeavoured to maintain the peace of the city. Now the evil penetrated into the sanctuary, and feuds rent the sacred family of Levi. A furious schism broke out between the Chief Priests and the inferior priesthood. Each party collected a band of ruffians, and assailed each other with violent reproaches, and even with stones. No one interfered to repress the tumult; and the High Priests are said to have sent their slaves to levy by force the tithes which belonged to the inferior priesthood, many of whom in consequence perished with hunger. Even the worst excesses of the Sicarii seem to have been authorized by the priesthood for their own purposes. The forty men who, with the connivance of the priests, bound themselves by a vow to assassinate St. Paul, if not of the frater-



nity, recognised the principles of that sanguinary crew.

It was in Cæsarea that the events took place which led to the final rupture with Rome. This magnificent city had rapidly risen to a high degree of wealth and populousness. It was inhabited by two races—the Syrian Greeks, who were heathens, and the Jews. The two parties violently contended for the pre-eminence. The Jews insisted on the foundation of the city by Herod their king, and on its occupying the site of the old Jewish town called the tower of Straton; the Greeks appealed to the statues and temples which Herod himself had erected, which clearly proved that Cæsarea was intended for a Pagan city. The feud became gradually more fierce; tumults and bloodshed disturbed the streets. The more aged and prudent of the Jews could not restrain their followers. The Jews were the more wealthy; but the Roman soldiery, chiefly levied in Syria, took part with their countrymen. The officers attempted, but in vain, to keep the peace; and when Felix himself came forth to disperse a party of Jews, who had got the better in an affray, they treated his authority with contempt. Felix commanded his troops to charge them. The soldiery were too glad to avail themselves of the signal for license; many of the Jews fell, many were seized, and some of the more opulent houses plundered. After the recall of Felix, a deputation of each party was sent to Rome, to lay the whole case before the Emperor. The Jews brought heavy charges against Felix, but the powerful protection of his brother Pallas, who was high in favour with Nero, secured his impunity. The Greeks, by a large bribe to Burrhus, who had been the preceptor of Nero, obtained a decree which deprived the Jews of the rights of equal citizenship. This decree still further inflamed the contest. The Greeks became more and more insulting; the Jews more and more turbulent.

In the rest of the province the administration of the rigid but upright Porcius Festus caused a short interval of comparative peace. Festus kept down all the bands, whether we are to call them, robbers or insurgents, and repressed the Sicarii. His soldiers put to death an impostor who had led multitudes into the desert.

At this period King Agrippa resided in Jerusalem, in the palace of the Asmonean princes, which stood on the cliff of Mount Sion, towards the temple. In front of this was the Xystus, an open colonnade, which was connected by a bridge with the temple. Agrippa reared a lofty building in this palace, which commanded a beautiful prospect of the whole city, particularly of the temple courts. Reposing on his couch he might see the whole course of the religious ceremonies. The priesthood were indignant at the intrusion, and hastily ran up a wall, on the western side of their own court, by which they intercepted not merely the view of the king, but that of the Roman guard which was mounted in the outer western portico. Agrippa and Festus ordered the demolition of this wall. The Jews demanded permission to appeal to Nero; Festus consented, and a deputation of ten, headed by Ismael, the High Priest, and Hilkiah, the keeper of the treasury, set off to Rome. There they obtained the interest of Poppea, the profligate empress of Nero, whom Josephus describes as *devout*, as if she had been inclined to the Jewish religion: if so, she was no very creditable proselyte. Through her interest the wall was permitted to stand, but the High Priest and treasurer were detained at Rome. Agrippa seized the opportunity of appointing another High Priest—Joseph, named Cabi, son of Simon Cantherus. Soon after, he degraded Joseph, and appointed Annas, the fifth son of Annas, in Jewish estimation the happiest of men, for he himself had been High Priest, and had seen his five sons and his son-in-law, Caiaphas, suc-

cessively promoted to that dignity.. Annas united himself to the sect of the Sadducees, if he did not inherit those doctrines from his father.. The Sadducees were noted for their rigid administration of the law; and while the place of the Roman governor was vacant, he seized the opportunity of putting to death James the Just, and others of the Christians at the feast of the 'Passover.' But the act was unpopular, and Agrippa deprived him of the priesthood, and appointed Jesus, son of Damnai. Unhappily for this devoted country the upright Festus died in Judæa, and Albinus arrived as his successor. With the rapacious Albinus, every thing became venal. At first he proceeded with severity against the robbers, but in a short time began to extort enormous ransoms for their freedom. This was little better than to set a premium on robbery and assassination. In the meantime the taxes were increased, and the wasted country groaned under the heaviest burdens. Two men alone grew rich amid the general distress, the Roman governor and Ananias, formerly High Priest, who, keeping both Albinus and the High Priest in pay, committed all kinds of outrages, seizing the tithes of the inferior priesthood, who were again so reduced that many of them died of famine. Ananias was too wealthy a prize to escape the robbers who infested the country. In the open day, and at the time of a festival, they seized the scribe of Eleazar, captain of the guard, who was probably the son of Ananias, carried him off, and demanded as a ransom the release of ten of their companions, who were in prison. Ananias persuaded Albinus, no doubt by a great bribe, to comply. Encouraged by this success, whenever any one of the assassins was taken, they seized one of the dependants on Ananias, and demanded an exchange.

Agrippa, as if he foresaw the approaching danger, began to prepare a place of retreat. He enlarged

the city of Cæsarea Philippi, (Panaas,) and called it Neronias; but his chief expenditure was made at Berytus, where he built a theatre, and at great cost provided for the most splendid exhibitions. He likewise distributed corn and oil; collected a noble gallery of statues, and copies from the antique; in short he transferred to that city the chief splendour of his kingdom. This liberality to a foreign city was highly unpopular at Jerusalem; the degradation of Jesus, son of Damnai, and the appointment of Jesus, son of Gamaliel, increased the general discontent. Each of these rival High Priests had his party, who attacked each other in the streets; in short, every one who had wealth or power assembled his armed adherents; Ananias, as the richest, got together the strongest band; and two relatives of Agrippa, Saul and Costobar, appeared at the head of their own followers, plundering on all sides without scruple. Albinus aggravated the mischief. Having heard of his intended recall, he brought forth all the malefactors, who crowded the prisons, executed the most notorious, but allowed all the rest to pay their ransoms. Thus the prisons were empty, but the whole province filled with these desperate ruffians. The completion of the works in the temple added to the multitude of the idle and unemployed—eighteen thousand workmen were discharged. The more prudent of the people dreaded the letting loose this vast number of persons, without employment, on society; and with no less forethought they apprehended the accumulation of vast treasures in the temple, which had hitherto been for the most part profitably employed on the public buildings, and would now serve no purpose, but to excite the rapacity of the Romans. They petitioned that the eastern gate might be raised to a greater degree of magnificence. Agrippa, who was intrusted by the emperor with the command over the temple, refused, but permitted them to pave the

city with stone. He afterward deposed Jesus, son of Gamaliel, and appointed Matthias, the last legitimate High Priest of Jerusalem.

Nothing was wanting to fill the measure of calamity which this fruitful and once happy land was to exhaust, but the nomination of a governor, like Gessius Florus, who made the people look back with regret to the administration of the rapacious Albinus. Albinus at least dissembled his cruelties and exactions. Relying on the protection of the empress, who was attached to his wife Cleopatra, by long friendship and kindred disposition, Florus made an ostentatious display of his oppressions. Without compunction, and without shame, as crafty as he was cruel, he laid deliberate schemes of iniquity, by which at some distant period he was to reap his harvest of plunder. He pillaged not only individuals, but even communities, and seemed to grant a general indemnity for spoliation, if he was only allowed his fair portion of the plunder. Many villages and towns were entirely deserted, the inhabitants left their native country to fly beyond the reach of his administration. Cestius Gallus, a man of a congenial spirit, commanded in Syria. The fear of Florus, as long as Cestius remained in Syria, prevented the Jews from appealing to his tribunal; they would not have been suffered to arrive there in safety. But when Cestius, during the days preceding the Passover, visited Jerusalem, three millions of suppliants, that is the whole population assembled for the great annual feast, surrounded him, and entreated his interference. Florus stood by the side of Cestius, turning their complaints into ridicule. Cestius, however, promised that he would use his interest with Florus to treat them with greater moderation, and Florus, without further reproof, was permitted to escort his colleague in iniquity, on his way to Antioch, as far as Cæsarea.

In the mean time wild and awful prodigies, thus

the Jewish annalist relates, had filled the timid with apprehensions of the approaching desolation. But the blind and desperate multitude neglected all these signs of Almighty wrath. A comet, which had the appearance of a sword, hung above the city for a whole year. While the people were assembled at the feast of unleavened bread, at the sixth hour of the night, a sudden light, as bright as day, shone about the altar and the temple, and continued for about half an hour. A cow led forth to sacrifice, brought forth a calf. The inner gate on the eastern side of the temple was made of brass and of such immense weight, as to require twenty men to close it in the evening. It was fastened by strong iron bolts, let into the stone door posts. Suddenly this gate flew open, and it was with much difficulty that the assembled guard could close it. This the vulgar considered a good sign, as indicating that God had opened the gate of blessing, but the wise more sadly interpreted it as a manifest sign of the insecurity of the temple, and that it prefigured the opening of the gate of the holy place to the enemy. A few days after this festival, a still more incredible circumstance occurred. Such, says Josephus, as would appear a fable, had it not been attested by eyewitnesses, and justified by the subsequent events. Before sunset, chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the heavens; they mingled, and formed in array, so as to seem to encircle the city in their rapid and terrific career. And on the Pentecost, when the priests on duty entered by night into the temple, they said that they heard a movement and a noise, and presently the voice as it were of a great host, which said, "Let us depart hence." But more alarming still! while the city was yet at peace and in prosperity, a countryman, named Jesus, son of Ananus, began suddenly to cry aloud in the temple—*A voice from the east! a voice from the west! a voice from the four winds! a voice against Jerusalem and*

against the temple! a voice against the bridegrooms and the brides! a voice against the whole people! Day and night in the narrow streets of the city he went along repeating these words with a loud voice. Some of the leaders seized him, and had him severely beaten. He uttered no remonstrance, no entreaty for mercy, he seemed entirely regardless about his own person, but still went on reiterating his fearful burthen. The magistrates then apprehended him; and led him before Albinus, the Roman governor; there he was scourged till his bones could be seen, he uttered neither shriek of pain, nor prayer for mercy, but raising his sad and broken voice as loud as he could, at every blow cried out, *Wo, wo to Jerusalem.* Albinus demanded who he was, and whence he came? he answered not a word. The Roman at length supposing that he was mad, let him go. All the four years that intervened before the war, he paid no attention to any one, and never spoke, excepting the same words, *Wo, wo to Jerusalem.* He never cursed any one who struck him, nor thanked any one who gave him food. His only answer was the same melancholy presage. He was particularly active during the festivals, and then with greater frequency, and still deeper voice, he cried, *Wo, wo to the city and to the temple.* At length, during the siege, he suddenly cried out, *Wo, wo to myself!* and was struck dead by a stone from a balista.

It is not improbable that the prophecies of the approaching ruin of Jerusalem, disseminated by the Christians, might add to the general apprehension. Mingled as they were with the mass of the people, their distinct assurances that their divine teacher had foretold the speedy dissolution of the state, could scarcely remain unknown, especially when, in obedience to the command of Christ, they abandoned Jerusalem in a body, and retreated to Pella, a town

There was another sign, which might have given warning to the political sagacity or to the humanity of the Romans, upon the nature of the approaching conquest, as showing how immense a population they were thus driving to desperation, and what horrible carnage would be necessary, before they could finally subdue the rebellious province. When Cestius Gallus was at Jerusalem, at the time of the Passover, he inquired the number of Jews present from all quarters. The priests counted the lambs sacrificed, and found 255,600. None but Jews and those free from legal impurities might sacrifice. Reckoning at a low average of ten to each lamb, the numbers were 2,556,000. Josephus supposes that three millions would not have been an immoderate calculation.

The fatal flame finally broke out from the old feud at Cæsarea. The decree of Nero had assigned the magistracy of that city to the Greeks. It happened that the Jews had a synagogue, the ground around which belonged to a Greek. For this spot the Jews offered a much higher price than it was worth. It was refused, and to annoy them as much as possible, the owner set up some mean shops and buildings upon it, and rendered the approach to the synagogue as narrow and difficult as he could. The more hotheaded of the Jewish youth interrupted the workmen. The men of greater wealth and influence, and among them, John, a Publican, collected the large sum of eight talents, and sent it as a bribe to Florus, that he might interfere and stop the building. Florus received the money, made great promises, and immediately left Cæsarea for Sebaste, in order to leave full scope for the riot. On the following day, a sabbath, while the Jews were crowding to the synagogue, a man overset an earthen vessel in the way, and began to sacrifice birds upon it. It has been conjectured that this was a particularly offensive jest. The heathens generally represented the



origin of the Jews as having been expelled from Egypt as a race of lepers, and since birds were the first sacrifice appointed in cases of leprosy, it was most likely meant to gall the old wound. However that may be, the more violent Jews, furious at the affront, attacked the Greeks. The Greeks were already in arms, waiting for this signal for the affray. Jucundus, the governor, attempted in vain to appease the tumult, till at length, the Jews being worsted, took up the books of their law, and went away to Nabata, about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles distance. John, the Publican, with twelve of the highest rank, went to Samaria to Florus, entreated his assistance, and modestly reminded him of the eight talents he had received. Florus threw them into prison with every mark of indignity.

The news of this outrage and injustice spread to Jerusalem; the city was in a state of violent excitement. It was the deliberate purpose of Florus to drive the people to insurrection, both that all inquiry into his former oppressions might be drowned by the din of war; and that he might have better opportunities for plunder; he seized this critical moment to demand seventeen talents from the sacred treasury under pretence of Cæsar's necessities. The people assembled around the temple with the loudest outcries. The name of Florus was passed from one to another with every epithet of hatred and contempt. Some carried about a basket, entreating alms for the poor beggar, Florus. Neglecting entirely the tumult in Cæsarea, Florus advanced with all the force he could collect against Jerusalem. To his disappointment, the people, instead of maintaining their seditious demeanour, endeavoured to excite his clemency by the most submissive and humiliating conduct. They crowded forth, received his army with acclamations, and hailed the Procurator himself as a public benefactor. But Florus was too keen sighted to be imposed upon by these unmerited

marks of popularity. He chose to remember nothing but the insults and contumely with which his name had been treated. He sent forward Capito with fifty horse, commanding the people to disperse; they obeyed, and, retreating to their houses, passed the night in trembling expectation of his vengeance.

Florus took up his quarters in the Palace. In the morning his tribunal was erected before the gates. The High Priest, and all the leaders of the people (probably the Sanhedrin) were summoned to attend. Florus demanded the surrender of all those who had insulted his name, and added, if the heads of the people refused or delayed, he should proceed against them as responsible for the offence. The priests represented the general peaceable disposition of the city, and entreated his forbearance, throwing the blame on a few hotheaded youths, whom it was impossible to detect, as all had repented, and none would confess their guilt. At these words Florus broke out into the most violent fury, he gave the signal to his troops to plunder the upper market, and put to death all they met. The soldiery were but too ready instruments of his cruelty. They cleared the market, they broke into the houses, pillaged them, and put to death the inhabitants. The narrow streets were crowded with fugitives; many who escaped the sword, were trampled to death. Unoffending citizens were seized, carried before Florus, scourged, and crucified. Of men, women, and children, for neither age nor sex were spared, there fell that day 3600. Florus paid no regard to the sacred rights of Roman citizenship; some freemen of the first distinction; for many of the Jews had attained even the equestrian rank, were scourged and executed with their meaner countrymen.

Agrippa was absent in Egypt, but his sister Berenice was in Jerusalem, in pursuance of a religious vow. She sent repeated messages to Florus, entreating him to stay the fury of his soldiers; and,

even herself, in her penitential attire, with her hair shorn and with naked feet, stood before his tribunal. The Roman was deaf to her entreaties; he had no ear but for the accounts of the wealth, which was brought in, every hour, in great masses. Even in the presence of Berénice, her miserable countrymen were scourged and hewn down. She, herself, was obliged to take refuge in one of the royal residences, and dared not go to rest, lest the soldiers should force their way through her feeble guard.

The next day multitudes assembled in the scene of the massacre, the upper market-place; and among the wailings for the dead, were heard but half suppressed execrations and menaces against the cruel Florus. The chief heads of the city with the priests were in the greatest alarm, they tore their robes, rushed among the people, addressed them individually with the most earnest entreaties not again to provoke the anger of the governor. The populace, partly out of respect, partly out of fear, quietly dispersed.

Florus and his satellites alone were grieved at this pacification; he determined, if possible, to renew these profitable tumults. He sent for the priests and leaders, and commanded them, as the last proof of their submission, to go forth and receive with the utmost cordiality, two cohorts of troops who were advancing from Cæsarea. The priests assembled the people in the temple, made known the orders of Florus, and exhorted them to obedience. The more turbulent did not disguise their seditious intentions. Then, all the priesthood, the Levites, the musicians and singers in their sacred vestments, fell upon their knees and supplicated the people, that they would not bring down certain ruin on the whole city, or give excuse to the rapacious plunderer to profane the holy place, and pillage the sacred treasures of God. The priests of the highest rank, with robes rent, and ashes on their heads, went about, calling on the most

influential by name, and urging with the most solemn vehemence, that however degrading the submission to the commands of Florus, it was a trifling sacrifice, if it might avert the desolation of the city, and all the horrors of war. that it would be the height of madness to allow themselves to be borne away by a few of the factious, or misguided populace, whom they, the rather, ought to overawe with their authority.

They succeeded in allaying, for the time, the enraged multitude, the more turbulent were silenced, as menaces were mingled with entreaties; and the chief priests led forth the whole populace in peaceful array. The procession, in obedience to their admonitions, welcomed the cohorts with apparent gladness. The cohorts, who had received their secret instructions from Florus, advanced in sullen silence, not condescending to return the greetings. The more violent Jews took fire, and broke out into audible imprecations against Florus. The troops turned upon them; struck them with their staves; the horsemen rode over them, and trampled them down; many were bruised, many wounded. At the gates there was a violent rush to obtain entrance. Those behind pressed on those before; the horsemen came trampling on, and forcing their way through the dense mass; numbers fell, pushed down by their own people, or under the hoofs of the horses; their bodies were so crushed and mangled, that when they were taken up for burial, they could not be distinguished by their friends.

The soldiery still kept on, advancing, and driving the multitude before them, or riding over them all through the suburb of Bezetha. Their object was to press forward and gain possession at the same time of the Antonia and the temple. At this moment Florus sallied from the Palace, and attempted to force his way to that part of the castle, which joined the temple, but without success. For the people

blocked up the narrow streets, so that his men could not cut their way through the living masses, and were themselves beaten down by stones and missiles from the roofs of the houses. They retreated to their quarters. The insurgents apprehending that the enemy might force their way from the Antonia to the temple, cut off the porticoes and galleries, which connected them. This bold measure made Florus despair of succeeding in his main object, the plunder of the sacred treasury, during the confusion. He suspended the attack, sent for the chief priests and rulers, and proposed to evacuate the city; but offered to leave a guard of sufficient force to preserve the peace. They entreated him to leave only one cohort, and that, not the one which had been engaged against the people. On these terms, Florus retired unmolested to Cæsarea.

But Florus did not yet despair of inflaming the province and commencing an open war on more advantageous terms. He sent to his superior officer, Cestius Gallus, an artful representation of the tumults, in which all the blame was laid on the untractable and rebellious spirit of the Jews, whose unprovoked and wanton insults on the Roman authority had called for instant and exemplary justice. The Jews on their part were not remiss. The rulers and Berenice sent the most touching accounts of the terrible rapacity and cruelty of Florus and his troops. Cestius summoned a council; in which it was resolved that he should repair in person to Jerusalem, to examine into the causes of the revolt, to punish the guilty, and confirm the Roman party in their allegiance.

In the meantime he sent forward Neopolitanus, a centurion, to prepare for his approach. At Jamnia, Neopolitanus met with Agrippa, then on his return from Egypt, and communicated to him the object of his mission. Before they left Jamnia, a deputation of the priesthood and heads of the people, appeared

to congratulate Agrippa on his return. Agrippa artfully dissembled his compassion, and even affected to reprove the turbulent conduct of his countrymen. About seven or eight miles from Jerusalem, Neopolitanus and Agrippa were met by a more mournful procession. The people were preceded by the wives of those who had been slain; who with wild shrieks and outcries, called on Agrippa for protection; and recounted to Neopolitanus all the miseries they had undergone from the cruelty of Florus. On the entrance of the king and the Roman into the city, they were led to the ruined market-place, and shown the shops that had been plundered, and the desolate houses where the inhabitants had been massacred. Neopolitanus having passed through the whole city and found it in profound peace, went up to the temple, paid his adorations there in the court of the Gentiles, exhorted the people to maintain their loyal demeanour, and returned to Cestius,

Agrippa, on his part, declined to countenance an embassy which they proposed to send to Nero: he assembled the whole multitude before the Xystus, and taking his seat in a lofty part of the palace, with Berenice by his side, commenced a long harangue. He enlarged on the prospect of a milder government, than that which had recently afflicted them, when the real state of the province should have reached the ears of the Emperor. He urged that their hopes of independence were vain: if they could not resist part of the Roman forces under Pompey, how could they expect to make any effectual struggle when the Romans wielded the power of the whole universe; he adduced the example of all other nations, Greeks, Germans, Gauls, Africans, Asiatics, who were held in submission by a few Roman troops: finally he dwelt on the horrors of war, and the danger of destruction which they would bring on the city and the holy place. He ended in tears, and his sister wept aloud. The peo-

ple with one voice cried out that they had taken arms not against the Romans, but against Florus. Agrippa replied that the refusal of tribute, and the demolition of the galleries which united the Antonia with the temple, were overt acts of war against Rome. He exhorted them forthwith to discharge their tribute, and repair the buildings. The people obeyed, the king and Berenice joined eagerly in urging forward the reconstruction of the porticoes. Chief persons were sent out to collect the arrears of tribute, and forty talents were speedily brought in. The war seemed at an end; and Agrippa might entertain the lofty satisfaction of having by his influence averted inevitable ruin from his country, profanation and sacrilege from the temple of his God. The corn-fields and vineyards of Judæa might yet escape the trampling havoc of armed squadrons; the city at its festivals receive its gay and cheerful inhabitants: the temple resound with the uninterrupted music and psalmody of the whole united nation. Vain hope! the fire was only smothered, not extinct. In an evil moment, Agrippa attempted to persuade the people to render the usual allegiance to Florus, until the Emperor should send another governor in his place. At the sound of that name, all influence and authority fell, as it were by magic, from the person of Agrippa. The populace rose, began to assail him first with insulting language, afterward with stones; they even ordered him to leave the city. Despairing, at the same time, of being of any farther use, and indignant at this treatment, Agrippa, having sent some of the leaders to Florus, in order that he might nominate some of them to collect the tribute, retreated to his own kingdom, and left the ungrateful city to its fate.

Still the more prudent of the higher orders entertained hopes of quelling the tumult, and averting the storm. But every day the breach became more inevitable. There was an important fortress called

**Masada**, which stood on the brow of a hill, at no great distance from the Dead Sea, near the fertile spot, called the gardens of Engaddi. It was a place of great strength, originally built by Jonathan the Maccabean, and fortified at great expense by Herod. Some of the bolder and more zealous of the war party, contrived to obtain entrance into this post, put the Roman garrison to the sword, and openly unfolded the banner of revolt. In the city, a still more decisive measure was taken. It had been the custom to receive the gifts and sacrifices of foreign potentates in the temple; and since the time of Julius Cæsar, according to the policy of Rome, offerings had been regularly made, in the name of the emperor, to the national God of the Hebrews. Eleazar, the son of Ananias the Chief Priest, who then commanded the guard in the temple, had the ambition of becoming the head of the war-faction. He persuaded the lower orders of the officiating priests to reject the imperial offerings, and to make a regulation that from that time no foreigner should be allowed to sacrifice in the temple. This was a direct renunciation of allegiance: The Roman party, or rather that party which was anxious to preserve peace, made a strong but unavailing effort. The chief priests joined by the heads of the Pharisees, who as yet had maintained great influence over the heads of the populace, met in frequent council. They agreed to assemble the people in the quadrangle of the temple which was before the great eastern gate. They addressed them in strong language, representing the honour and wealth that the temple had long obtained by the splendid donations of foreigners. That this act amounted to an open declaration of war; that it was not merely inhospitable, but impious, to preclude strangers from offering victims, and kneeling in worship before God; that they would consider such a decree an act of inhumanity against an individual; how much



greater then must it be, against the emperor and the whole Roman people : above all, that they must take heed lest, by prohibiting others to sacrifice, they bring upon themselves the same prohibition ; and thus, having as it were outlawed the rest of the world, be themselves condemned to a more fatal outlawry. They then brought forward those who were thought best acquainted with the precedents and customs of the temple worship. The learned in the law unanimously declared thal it was the ancient and immemorial usage to receive the offerings of strangers. The violent party paid not the least attention to argument or remonstrance ; the lower order of priests openly refused to officiate. The pacific party made one effort more. They sent one deputation, headed by Simon son of Ananias, to Florus ; another to Agrippa, headed by his relatives, Saul, Antipas, and Costobar, entreating them to march instantly on Jerusalem, or all would be lost. These were glad tidings to Florus, who saw, in quiet and ferocious delight, the progress of the mutiny. He did not condescend to reply. Agrippa, still anxious to preserve the city and temple, sent immediately 3000 horse from Auranitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, commanded by Darius, and Philip the son of Jacimus :

On the arrival of these troops, the chiefs of the people made themselves masters of the upper city ; the insurgents, under Eleazar, who now appeared openly as the head of the war-faction, occupied Acra and the temple. The two parties began to assail each other with missiles and slings ; bands occasionally met and fought hand to hand ; the royal troops had the advantage in discipline, but the insurgents in courage. The temple was the great object of the struggle. For seven days affairs remained in this state, neither party obtaining any positive advantage. The following day was the festival of wood-carrying, in which it was the cus-

tom for every individual among the Jews to contribute a certain supply of wood for the fire of the altar, which was never allowed to go out. The insurgents refused to admit the more distinguished of the opposite party; while they themselves received a great accession of strength. With the meaner people, who were permitted to enter the temple, stole in a great number of the Zealots, called the Assassins. These desperadoes infused new daring as well as strength. They made a vigorous attack on the upper city, the royal troops gave way; the victorious insurgents set fire to the house of Ananias the Chief priest, to the palaces of Agrippa and Berenice, and to the public archives, in which the bonds of the debtors were registered. In this proceeding all the debtors eagerly took their side, and assisted in cancelling their debts by destroying the records. This measure was as politic as it was daring, it annihilated, at one blow, the influence of the wealthy, who being generally their creditors, the poorer people, before this, had been entirely in their power. Some of the priests and heads of the people concealed themselves in the sewers; others, for the time more fortunate, secured the upper towers of the palace, and closed the gates. Among the latter were Ananias and his brother Hezekiah, and those who were obnoxious as having been deputed to Agrippa. Flushed with their victory, the insurgents retired to rest.

The next day they attempted a much more daring enterprise. A feeble garrison still held the important fortress, the Antonia, which, if better manned, might long have resisted the attacks of undisciplined soldiers. In two days the insurgents carried this citadel, put the garrison to the sword, and burnt the keep. They then turned against the palace, where the miserable remains of the royal party had taken refuge. They divided themselves into four troops, and made a simultaneous attempt

to scale the walls. The few defenders, distracted by these separate attacks, dared not venture on a sally, but contented themselves with striking down the assailants as they climbed singly up the battlements. Many of the insurgents fell. Night and day the conflict lasted; the besiegers expecting that the royal troops would speedily be reduced by famine—the besieged that their tumultuary assailants would grow weary of the attack.

In the mean time a new leader arose, who had hereditary claims on the ardent attachment of the Zealots. Judas, the Galilean, had been the first who had openly declared the impiety of owing any king but God, and had denounced the payment of tribute to Cæsar, and all acknowledgment of foreign authority, as treason against the principles of the Mosaic constitution. These doctrines, after having long fermented in secret, and only betrayed themselves in local tumults, or temporary insurrections, were now espoused, as it were, by the whole nation. Judas himself, not long after his outset on his career, and his two elder sons, during the government of Tiberius Alexander, had fallen martyrs to their opinions. All eyes were now turned on Manahem, a younger son, who they hoped would maintain the lofty principles of his father with better success. Manahem suddenly appeared in the conquered fortress of Masada, plundered the armoury of Herod, and, girt with a resolute and confident band, approached Jerusalem. The gates flew open, and he entered the city as in royal pomp; he was admitted at once as the captain of their forces, and gave orders to press the siege of the palace. The palace still bravely held out; the assailants had no battering engines; and, when they attempted to mine the walls, they were beaten down by stones and javelins from above. They began therefore a mine at a considerable distance, and when they got under one of the towers, they carried in a great quantity of

wood and set it on fire. The flames caught the timbers of the foundations, and the tower fell with a tremendous crash. The insurgents were already rushing to the assault, when they found themselves checked by a second wall, which the besieged had built within. During this consternation of the assailants, the garrison sent to demand terms. The insurgents readily granted safe passage to the troops of Agrippa and to the Jews, who marched out, leaving the few Roman soldiers in the most desperate condition, without a hope of cutting their way through the countless multitudes of their assailants, and, even if they should submit, to the disgrace of surrendering on conditions, almost certain that the conditions would not be kept. They retreated to the three strong towers which Herod had built, and called Hippicos, Phasaelis, and Mariamne. Manahem and his followers broke into the palace, slew the few who had not made good their retreat, plundered the baggage, and set fire to their encampment. The following morning Ananias was discovered, with his brother Hezekiah, in an aqueduct leading to the palace. They were put to death without remorse. The towers were surrounded, so as to prevent any chance of escape. Manahem grew intoxicated with success; he already assumed all the state of a king, and maintained his authority with the most unsparing bloodshed. The death of Ananias was an unpopular measure—but, probably this, as well as other sanguinary acts, might have been pardoned; but Eleazar did not patiently endure that the supreme authority, for which he had so subtly plotted, and so resolutely dared, should thus be wrested at once from his hands. His partisans began to murmur, that they had only changed a Roman tyrant for one home-born; that Manahem, though he had no claim or title to this superiority, had insolently gone up to worship in the temple, in royal attire, and surrounded by his guards. The

populace rose on the side of Eleazar, and began to stone the adherents of Manahem. His followers fled. Many were slain outright, many in places of concealment. A few with Eleazar, the son of Jair, a relation of Manahem, made good their retreat to Masada. Manahem himself was taken, having fled to a part of the city called Ophlas; he was dragged forth, and put to death with great cruelty. Many of his partisans, one Absalon in particular, shared his fate. Thus fell Manahem, who, if he had united discretion with his courage, might have given the insurgents what they felt the want of during the whole war—an acknowledged leader, who might have concentrated the resources, and consolidated the strength of the revolt.

Many of the populace had taken part against Manahem, in hopes that by his death the tumult might be suppressed; but this was not the intention of Eleazar and his party. They pressed vigorously the siege of the towers. At length Metilius, the Roman commander, found himself constrained to demand terms. The garrison offered to surrender on condition that their lives were spared; their arms and every thing else were to be at the mercy of the conquerors. The treaty was accepted, and solemnly ratified. Gorion, son of Nicomedes—Ananias, son of Sadoc—and Judas, son of Jonathan, on the part of the insurgents—swore to the execution of the conditions. Metilius led out his soldiers. While they retained their arms, no movement was made; directly they had piled their swords and bucklers, the followers of Eleazar fell upon and slew them, unresisting, and wildly appealing to the faith of the treaty. All fell, except Metilius, who had the un-Roman baseness (the word may be excused) to supplicate for mercy, and even agreed to submit to circumcision. After this treacherous and horrid deed, the last faint hope of accommodation was quenched, as it were, in blood. The more mode.

rate foresaw the inevitable ruin; they did not conceal their profound sorrow; the whole city, instead of resounding with triumph, was silent, dejected, and melancholy. It was an aggravation of the general terror and depression, that this atrocious massacre was perpetrated on a Sabbath!

On that very day and hour, by a coincidence which Josephus considered providential, a dreadful retribution for the crimes of their countrymen was, as it were, pre-exacted from the Jews of Cæsarea. The Greeks, now tolerably certain that to satiate their own animosity would be to please rather than offend the Romans, or perhaps under secret instructions from Florus, suddenly rose, and massacred the Jews almost to a man:—in one hour, 20,000, an incredible number! were said to be killed. Not a Jew appeared in Cæsarea. The few who fled were seized by Florus, and sent to the galleys.

By this act the whole nation was driven to madness. Committed by the enormities of their brethren in Jerusalem—thus apparently proscribed every where else for slaughter—they determined, if mankind thus declared war upon them, to wage unrelenting war upon mankind. They rose, surprised, and laid waste all around the cities of Syria, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, (where probably as yet the Christians had not taken refuge,) and Scythopolis. They made a sudden descent upon Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulonitis; burned and destroyed many places, and advanced boldly against Cedasa, a Tyrian town, and the important places of Ptolemais and Gabaa, and even against Cæsarea itself. Sebaste and Ascalon offered no resistance—at least to their inroad on their territory; Anthedon and Gaza they razed to the ground. The hamlets around these cities were pillaged, and an immense slaughter took place.

The Syrians took the alarm; and either for security, or out of old animosity, committed dreadful

havoc on the Jewish inhabitants of their towns. Every city was, as it were, divided into two hostile camps. The great object was to anticipate the work of carnage. The days were passed in mutual slaughter, the nights in mutual dread. All agreed that the Jews were to be put to the sword without mercy—but how to treat the numerous proselytes to Judaism? Should they respect their Syrian blood, or punish their conformity to the Jewish faith? The fatal wealth of the Jews even then, as in after-ages, was at once their pride and their ruin. Many were put to death from the basest motives of plunder; and he who could display the greatest heap of Jewish spoil, was considered a hero. The streets were strewn with unburied bodies—aged men and infants—women with the last covering of modesty torn off; the whole province bewailing the present calamities, and trembling with foreboding apprehensions of still worse.

So far the Jews had confined their attacks to foreign troops or settlers; but making an inroad into the domain of Scythopolis, they met with unexpected resistance from the Jewish inhabitants, who had taken arms with those of Syrian race, and united with them in defence of their common territory. But the Scythopolitans mistrusted their fidelity, and, dreading lest they should make common cause with the assailants during the attack, desired them to retire with their families into an adjacent grove. Suspecting no danger, the Jews at once complied, and two days they remained in quiet, encamped under the trees. The third night the perfidious Scythopolitans attacked them unawares, put them all to the sword, and seized all their property. Thirteen thousand perished. This barbarous act clearly proved to all the Jews, that no course remained but to make common cause with their revolted countrymen. A particular incident which occurred during this massacre was well suited to

spread from mouth to mouth, as a tale which might excite the revengeful spirit of the most lukewarm, and drive the most cautious to insurrection, as his last hope. There was a certain Simon, the son of Saul, a Jew of distinction in Scythopolis, who, during the Jewish attack upon the city, had fought against his countrymen with the most consummate bravery. He had slain many, and broken squadrons by his single strength. On that fatal night, when the Scythopolitans surrounded their Jewish brethren, he saw that all resistance to such numbers was vain. He cried aloud—"Men of Scythopolis, I acknowledge the justice of the penalty I am about to pay for having wielded arms against my countrymen, and put my trust in you. The blood of my own brethren calls for vengeance. It shall be satisfied; but no enemy, like you, shall boast of my death, or insult my fall." He then with wild and glaring eyes looked round on his family. He had a wife, children, and aged parents. He first seized his father by the hoary hair, and pierced him with his sword; his mother next willingly bared her bosom to the blow. Then fell his wife and children, who crowded round him, eager to die by his hand rather than by that of the enemy. Last of all, he mounted upon their bodies, so as to make himself as conspicuous as possible, and drove his sword into his entrails.

The rest of the Grecian cities followed the example of Scythopolis. In Ascalon 2500 were put to the sword, in Ptolemais 2000, and as many thrown into prison. In Tyre many were killed; in Hippo and Gadara they put to death the most dangerous, and threw the rest whom they suspected into prison. Of the Syrian cities, Antioch, Sidon, and Apamea, alone showed real humanity, and forbade the death; or even the imprisonment, of their Jewish fellow-citizens. In these towns, indeed, the Jews were less numerous, and therefore less formidable; yet



the exception is not the less honourable to the inhabitants. The citizens of Geraza not merely abstained from injuring those who remained in their city, but escorted those who chose to leave it, into the mountains. The dominions of Agrippa were not without disturbance. Agrippa himself had gone to Antioch to Cestius Gallus, and left the administration of his kingdom to Varus, a relation of Soemus, the Tetrarch of the district about Lebanon. It happened that Philip, the son of Jacimus, the commander of Agrippa's troops in Jerusalem, had escaped the massacre committed by the partisans of Manahem. He was concealed for four days by some relatives, Babylonian Jews, then at Jerusalem. On the fifth, by putting on false hair, he escaped, and arrived at length at a village of his own near the fortress of Gamala. There, while he was thinking of summoning his friends, he was seized with a fever, and, as he lay ill, he sent letters to the children of Agrippa and to Berenice, announcing his escape. Varus was jealous of the influence of Philip with Agrippa. He accused the bearer of forgery, and declared that Philip had certainly perished at Jerusalem. A second messenger arrived, and him also Varus made away with; for a report had reached him from Cæsarea, that Agrippa had been put to death by the Romans, on account of the revolt of his countrymen, and he began to entertain hopes, being of royal blood, that he might secure to himself the vacant kingdom. He intercepted, therefore, all communication from Philip, and, to ingratiate himself with the Cæsareans, he put to death many Jews. He then determined to make an attack on Ecbatana, or Bathura—a town probably in Batanea. With this view he sent twelve Jews of Cæsarea to accuse them of meditating an insurrection against Agrippa, and to demand seventy of the chief citizens to answer the charge. The Cæsarean Jews found the town per-

fectly quiet, and the seventy citizens were sent with the utmost readiness. Varus, without trial, ordered them all to be put to death, and advanced upon the town. One, however, had escaped, and gave the alarm. The inhabitants immediately seized their arms, leaving their great possessions in flocks and herds, and fled to the fortress of Gamala. Thence they sent to Philip, entreating him to come to their assistance. On his arrival, there was a general outcry that he should put himself at their head, and instantly lead them to battle against Varus and the Greeks of Cæsarea. The more prudent Philip restrained their impetuosity, and by his influence preserved the peace of Gamala, and kept the whole district faithful to the Romans till the commencement of the war. Agrippa sent to supersede Varus; his great connexions rendered it dangerous to inflict a more severe punishment.

The Alexandrian Jews were not exempt from the general calamities of the nation; but they are less worthy of compassion, as they seem in a great degree, by their own turbulence and rashness, to have brought the persecution upon their own heads. At a public assembly of the Alexandrians, to despatch an embassy to Nero, many of the Jews, whether to maintain a contested right or not, thronged into the amphitheatre with the Greeks. An outcry immediately arose against the intruders, as enemies and spies. They were attacked; some were killed in their flight: others were taken, and dragged along as if to be burnt alive. The whole Jewish population rose, and at first assailed the Greeks with stones. They then surrounded the amphitheatre with lighted torches, and threatened to burn the whole assembly to a man. They would have executed their purpose, but for the immediate intervention of Tiberius Alexander, the governor—the same who had before governed in Judæa, and was by birth a Jew—the nephew of Philo. Alexander acted with humane

consideration; he sent for the more influential of the Jews, ordered them to put an end to the affray, and warned them against bringing the Roman soldiery upon their heads. The more seditious mocked at his admonitions, and heaped personal abuse upon his name.

Alexander immediately ordered his troops out; besides his two legions he had 5000 soldiers, recently come from Libya. He gave them leave not merely to kill, but also to pillage and burn houses. The troops immediately forced the Delta, the quarter in which the Jews lived. The Jews made resistance; but once routed, the slaughter was horrible. The houses were stripped, or set on fire full of inhabitants, who had taken refuge in them; neither age nor sex was spared: the whole place was like a pool of blood: 59,000 bodies were heaped up for burial. The few who remained sued for mercy. Alexander gave the signal for the cessation of the carnage; and such was the influence of the commander, and the discipline of the troops, that he was instantly obeyed by the soldiery. The more vindictive animosity of the Alexandrian populace was not so easily arrested; they could only be dragged by force from the dead bodies.

In Palestine one thing only was wanting to plunge the whole nation headlong into the revolt. They had already to stimulate them, on one hand, the remembrance of the galling oppression of their successive governors—the desperate conviction that they were already committed by the events in Jerusalem—the horrible proofs that in every city every man's hand was armed against them; and every heart steeled against their sufferings: on the other, the bold and lofty tenets of Judas the Galilean, in whose sense their older sacred scriptures might be made to speak without much violence of interpretation—the universal belief in the immediate coming of the triumphant Messiah, which was so widely

diffused as to be mentioned by Suetonius and by Tacitus as a great cause of the war,—all these motives could not but operate in a most powerful manner. That which was wanting, was a bright gleam of success, to break the gloom that lowered all round the horizon, and animate the timid and desponding with the hope of possible victory. This was given by the imbecility of Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria. Cestius had under his command the 12th legion, complete in its numbers, about 4200 strong: besides these he had 2000 picked men; six cohorts of foot, about 2500; and four troops of horse, about 1200. Of allies, he had from Antiochus 2000 horse, and 3000 foot, all archers; from Agrippa as many horse, but less than 2000 foot; Sohemus followed with 4000 more, a third of which were horse, the rest archers. With this army, of nearly 10,000 Roman troops, and 13,000 allies, Cestius advanced to Ptolemais. Many volunteers crowded forth from the Syrian cities; and Agrippa and Sohemus attended on his march. His first exploit was against the town of Zebulon, called Andron, which divided the territory of Ptolemais from the Jewish province of Upper Galilee. The inhabitants fled to the mountains. The city, in which was abundance of wealth and provision, was pillaged by the soldiers; and its noble buildings, said to be as handsome as those of Tyre, Sidon, or Berytus, were burned to the ground. After having wasted the adjacent district, Cestius returned to Ptolemais. The Syrians, particularly those of Berytus, lingering behind to plunder, the Jews rose upon them, and cut off about 2000.

Cestius advanced to Caesarea: from thence he sent forward part of his army to Joppa, with orders, if they could take the city, to garrison it; if the inhabitants were prepared for resistance, to await the arrival of the rest of the army. Part marched inland, part by the sea coast. They found the city open; the inhabitants neither attempted to fly nor

to resist. They put them all to the sword, and pillaged the town. The number slain was 8500. With the same savage cruelty the cavalry wasted Narbatene, a district near Cæsarea; killing, and plundering, and burning, on all sides.

Cestius sent Gallus, the commander of the twelfth legion, into Galilee, with sufficient force to subjugate that province. Sepphoris opened its gates: the other cities followed the example of the capital. The insurgents fled to a mountain opposite to Sepphoris, called Asamon. There, favoured by the ground, they at first made a gallant resistance, and killed 200 of Gallus's men; at length the Romans gaining the upper ground, and surrounding them, they were broken and dispersed: 2000 were slain. Gallus having subdued the province, returned to Cæsaria.

Cestius advanced to Antipatris, dispersed a small band at the tower of Apheck, and burned their camp. From Antipatris he marched to Lydda, which was deserted, the inhabitants having gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. Fifty men, who came forth to meet him, were put to death; the city burned. He then ascended the hills near Beth-horon, and encamped at Gabao, fifty stadia, rather more than six miles, from Jerusalem. No sooner did the Jews hear that the war was approaching their gates, than they flew to arms; they broke off the festival; they paid no more respect to the Sabbath. It is possible, they called to mind that it was near this very place, in the passes about Beth-horon, that, in the days of old, the *Lord cast down great stones* on the Canaanites, when, as their histories declared, the sun stayed his course at the command of Joshua. In the same mountain country, Judas, the Maccabean, had discomfited the immense army of Nicanor. Now they poured forth by thousands; they fell upon the Roman van; broke it; and rushing in, began so great a slaughter, that if the

horse and some light troops had not made a circuit, and charged them in the rear, the whole army of Cestius might have been destroyed. Notwithstanding this advantage, they retreated; having killed 515, of which 400 were horse. Their own loss was but twenty-two. Their most distinguished men in the battle were strangers; Monobazus and Cenedæus, relations of the King of Adiabene; Niger, of Peræa; and Silas, a Babylonian, who had quitted the service of Agrippa. The Jews made good their retreat; and as the Romans ascended the hill of Bethhoron, Simon, son of Gioras, a man who will afterward make an eminent figure in the history, hung on their rear, and cut off their stragglers, and beasts of burthen, many of which he carried safe to the city. Cestius remained quiet for three days, the Jews keeping watch on the hills, waiting for his troops to move. At this juncture Agrippa determined to make a last effort to avert the war. He sent a deputation to persuade his countrymen to surrender, offering, in the name of Cestius, an amnesty for all that had passed. The leading insurgents dreaded the effect of these proposals on the people. They suddenly attacked the deputation; slew one, named Phæbus, wounded the other, Borcæus, with sticks and stones; and drove back those who appeared to take any interest in their fate. Cestius seized the opportunity of this dissension to advance on Jerusalem; he encamped at Scopas, within seven stadia, not quite a mile, to the north of the walls. Three days he suspended his attack, in hopes of receiving an offer of surrender: in the meantime his horse scoured the villages around for provision and forage: on the fourth the Romans advanced to the attack. The insurgents had not only to repel the enemy, but to watch a formidable party within the walls, whom they suspected of being but lukewarm in the cause. They were struck with consternation at the order and discipline of the Roman army,

as it came slowly on to the attack. They abandoned the outer walls; and fled into the temple and the other fortified places within the city. Cestius passed through the new suburb of Bezetha, and burned it as he proceeded: he then advanced against the upper city, and encamped opposite to the palace. Had he then rushed at once to the assault, the city would have fallen. But, as Josephus asserts, with no great probability, the general, Tyrannius Priscus, and several of the commanders of cavalry, bribed by Florus to prolong the war, dissuaded him from the attack.

It is more probable that he entertained hopes of the surrender of the city by means of a powerful party within the walls; for many of the chief persons, at the persuasion of Ananus, the son of Jonathan, invited Cestius to continue the attack, and promised to open the gates. But the irresolute Cestius, either from anger or mistrust, delayed and lost time. The conspiracy was detected by the insurgents; Ananus and his followers were thrown headlong from the walls; the rest were assailed with stones, and driven to their houses. The war faction manned all the towers, and beat down with missiles all who approached the walls. For five days the Romans made only uncombined and desultory attacks: on the following, Cestius, with the flower of his army and his archers, made a vigorous assault on the north side of the temple. The Jews defended themselves from the cloisters with the most resolute valour; continually repulsed the enemy; till at length, galled by the showers of missiles, the Romans recoiled. But they retreated to make a more dangerous attack. They formed what was called a *testudo*: those in the van fixed their shields firmly against the wall; the next rank did the same; till the shields, fitting over each other like the shell of a tortoise, formed an iron penthouse over their

heads, under which the soldiers began to mine the walls, and attempted to set fire to the gates.

The besieged were in the most dreadful consternation; many endeavoured secretly to make their escape from the devoted city. The peaceful party took courage, and began to muster in considerable force, in order to open the gates, and admit Cestius as their deliverer. A short time, an hour or less, might have made the Romans masters of the city: "but God, I conceive," says the Jewish historian, "on account of our sins, abhorring his own sanctuary, would not permit the war to end thus."

Cestius, ignorant of the state of affairs within the town, both of the despondency of the insurgents and the strength of the Roman party, suddenly called off his troops; and, to the universal surprise, retreated entirely from the city. The insurgents passed at once from the lowest depression to the wildest courage: they sallied from all quarters, and cut off many stragglers, both horse and foot. Cestius passed the night in his former encampment, at Scopos (the watch-tower). On the following day he continued to retire. The further he retreated, the more bold became the enemy: they harassed his rear; coming along cross roads, they took his files in flank. The Romans dared not turn to make head; for they thought that countless multitudes were pouring behind them; and while the heavily-accounted legionaries continued their slow and sullen march, the light-armed Jews flew about with the utmost rapidity; assaulting, retreating; now on one side, now on the other; dashing down where they saw an opening, and starting off when they met resistance. The road was strewn with the dead; every one who, for an instant, quitted the ranks, was cut off. Nor did the loss fall only on the common soldiers. Priscus, the captain of the sixth legion; Longinus, a tribune, and Æmilius, a prefect of horse, were slain; till at length, with great loss



of men, and still more of baggage and munitions, the army reached its former quarters at Gabao. There, with his usual irresolution, Cestius lost two days in inactivity: the third day, when he saw the whole country in arms, and the Jews swarming on all the heights, he determined on retreat.

That he might retire with greater expedition, he commanded the soldiers to throw away every thing that might impede their march. All the mules and beasts of burthen were killed, except those which bore arrows and the military engines; the latter, he apprehended, might be of future use, and dreaded lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. The Romans then entered the fatal pass down to Bethhoron. The Jews, who had preserved some respect for their close and serried ranks while they were in the open plain, no sooner saw them entangled in the defile, than they attacked them on all sides: some hastened to block up the outlet of the pass; some from behind drove them headlong down the ravine: at the end of the defile, incalculable multitudes showered darts upon them, till the whole squadron seemed clouded over with missiles. The legionaries stood wavering, uncertain how to act. The cavalry were in a still more perilous condition: they could not form in ranks; the steep sheer sides of the mountains were impracticable for their horses. At one moment they found themselves on the verge of frightful precipices, hanging over rugged, and, it seemed, bottomless ravines. Flight and resistance were alike hopeless: they began to utter wild cries of despair, and to groan aloud in the agony of their hearts: the shrill battle-cry of the Jews answered; their savage shouts of exultation and fury rang from rock to rock. The whole Roman army must have fallen, had not night come on, which enabled the greater part to make its way to Bethhoron; while the Jews crowned every hill, and blocked up every pass around.

Cestius, despairing of being able openly to force his way, began to think of securing his personal safety by flight. He selected four hundred of his bravest men, distributed them about the defences of the camp, with orders to mount guard; and in the morning to display all their ensigns, that the Jews might suppose the whole army was still stationary. He then retreated in silence thirty stadia, not quite four miles. At the break of day, the Jews discovered that the camp was deserted: enraged at the manœuvre, they rushed to the assault, and slew the four hundred to a man. They then pursued Cestius with the utmost rapidity. The Romans, who had got the start of several hours during the night, hastened their retreat, which bore every appearance of a rout. All the military engines, the catapults, battering-rams used in besieging cities, were abandoned, and fell into the hands of the Jews; who afterward employed them with dreadful effect against their former masters. The conquerors continued the pursuit as far as Antipatris; and at length finding that they could not overtake them, they turned back to secure the engines, strip the dead, and collect their immense booty. With hymns of victory they re-entered the capital; having suffered hardly any loss on their own part, and having slain of the Romans and their allies 5300 foot, and 380 horse. The Roman arms had not received so disgraceful an affront, nor suffered so great loss, since the defeat of Varus in the forests of Germany; and this not by a fierce and unconquered people, among woods and morasses never before penetrated by civilized man; but in a province which had long patiently endured the Roman yoke, and had received for its sovereigns either native kings or foreign prefects with the humblest submission to the imperial will

## BOOK XIV.

## PREPARATIONS FOR THE WAR.

*Vespasian—Josephus—Affairs of Galilee—John of Gischala—Affairs of Jerusalem—Ananus the Chief Priest—Simon, son of Gioras—Battles near Ascalon.*

JUDÆA was now in open rebellion against Rome. It was a mad and desperate revolt, for to declare war against Rome, was to defy the whole force of the civilized world. The insurgents neither had, nor could hope for allies; the rest of the Roman provinces were in profound peace, and little likely to answer the call or follow the example of a people they despised, in assertion of their independence. In Europe the only unsubdued enemies of the Romans were the wild tribes in the north of Britain, or in the marshes of Germany. In Asia, the only independent kingdom, the Parthian, was not a state to make a war of aggression. Philo, in his oratorical invective against Caligula, threw out hints of the formidable numbers of his countrymen in Babylonia, and of the multitudes who were scattered throughout almost all the cities in the eastern dominions of Rome. But the foreign Jews, though, as Josephus hints in one place, solicited by ambassadors, either took no interest in the fate of their countrymen, or were too sadly occupied in averting the storm of public detestation from their own heads, or in bewailing its consequences, in the unprovoked carnage of their own friends and families.\* They were

\* Immediately on the defeat of Cestius, the inhabitants of Damascus hastened to wreak their vengeance on the Jewish residents. They were obliged to proceed with caution, for fear of their wives, who

trembling in the agony of personal apprehension, or gathering up for burial the bodies of their murdered countrymen.

The state of the country offered scarcely better grounds for any reasonable hope of permanent resistance. The fortified places were not all in the power of the insurgents: they had no organized or disciplined force; no warlike engines, except those captured from the enemy; no provisions of any kind for a long war. Worse than all, they were divided among themselves. In every city there was an interested, or a timid, or a prudent party, anxious to purchase peace at any cost. They had no acknowledged leader. The representative of the Herodian house, Agrippa, openly espoused the Roman party. The rest were either undistinguished as soldiers, or strangers, and robber chieftains. Their only trust was in their own stubborn patience and daring valour, in the stern fanaticism with which they looked upon themselves as the soldiers of their God, and in the wild hope that heaven would work some miraculous revolution in their favour.

Yet, however frantic and desperate the insurrection, why should the Jews alone be excluded from that generous sympathy, which is always awakened by the history of a people, throwing off the galling yoke of oppression, and manfully resisting to the utmost in assertion of their freedom? Surely if ever people were justified in risking the peace of their country for liberty, the grinding tyranny of the successive Roman Procurators, and the deliberate and systematic cruelties of Florus, were enough to have maddened a less high-spirited and intractable race into revolt. It is true that the war was carried on with unexampled atrocity; but on the other hand, insurrectionary warfare is not the best school for

*were almost all attached to the Jewish religion! At last they contrived to take them at advantage, in some confined space, and, attacking them unarmed, massacred 10,000.*

the humaner virtues ; and horrible oppression is apt to awaken the fiercer and more savage, not the loftier and nobler passions of our nature. And, it must be borne in mind, that we have the history of the war, only on the authority of some brief passages in the Roman authors, and the narrative of one to whom, notwithstanding our respect for his abilities and virtues, it is impossible not to assign the appellation of renegade. Josephus, writing to conciliate the Romans both to his own person and to the miserable remnant of his people, must be received with some mistrust. He uniformly calls the more obstinate insurgents, who continued desperately faithful to that cause which he deserted, by the odious name of robbers ; but it may be remembered that the Spanish guerillas, who were called patriots in London, were brigands in Paris. It is true that the resistance of many was the result of the wildest fanaticism. But we must not forget in what religious and historical recollections the Jews had been nurtured. To say nothing of the earlier and miraculous period of their history, what precedents of hope were offered by the more recent legends of the daring and triumphant Maccabees. It is, moreover, true that the Son of Man had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the New Testament appears to intimate that the measure of wickedness in the Jewish people, having been filled up in the rejection of Christ, they were doomed from that time to inevitable ruin. But we must avoid the perilous notion of confounding the Divine foreknowledge with the necessary causation of events. According to the first principles of the Mosaic constitution, national guilt led to national ruin. But still the motives which actuated many in that fatal struggle, which led to the accomplishment of the Divine predictions, may have been noble and generous. It was the national rejection of Christ, not the resistance to Rome, which was culpable. The Jew.

though guilty of refusing to be a Christian, might still be a high-minded and self-devoted patriot. Although we lament that the gentle and pacific virtues of Christianity did not spread more generally through the lovely and fertile region of Palestine, yet this is no reason why we should refuse our admiration to the bravery, or our deepest pity to the sufferings, of the Jewish people. Let us not read the fate of the Holy City, in that unchristian temper, which prevailed during the dark ages, when every Jew was considered a personal enemy of Christ, and therefore a legitimate object of hatred and persecution, but rather in the spirit of Him, who, when he looked forward with prophetic foreknowledge to its desolation, nevertheless was seen "to weep over Jerusalem."

The astonishment of the Romans at the revolt of this comparatively small province, and at the news of the total defeat of a Roman Prefect at the head of his legionaries, was not unmingled with consternation. The emperor Nero was then in Achaia. The first intelligence of the affair was brought by Costobar and Saul, two brothers, related to the Herodian family, who, with Philip the Son of Jacimus, the general of Agrippa, had made their escape from Jerusalem. The two former were despatched at their own request to the emperor, by Cestius, who instructed them to lay the whole blame of the war on Florus. Nero, according to Josephus, affected to treat the affair lightly. He expressed great contempt for their revolt, but great anger at the misconduct of Cestius; yet he could not help betraying visible marks of disturbance and terror. The importance really attached to the affair may be judged by the selection of the most able and distinguished military commander in the empire. Vespasian had been bred to arms from his youth; he had served with great fame in the German wars; he had reduced the unknown island of Britain into a Roman pro-

vince, and obtained the honours of a triumph, for the emperor Claudius, without his own personal exertion or danger. Nero repressed his resentment against Vespasian, who was in disgrace for not having sufficiently admired the fine voice and style of singing of the theatrical emperor. He committed the province of Syria to his charge. With his characteristic despatch, Vespasian immediately sent his son Titus to Alexandria to conduct the fifth and tenth legions; he himself travelled with all speed, by land, to Syria, and collected all the Roman troops, and forces from the neighbouring tributary kings.

In the meantime the insurgents were not inactive. Some of the more prudent hastened, as Josephus says, to desert the sinking ship. Those who, still *Romanized*, were brought over, some by persuasion, some by force. They called a general assembly in the temple, and proceeded to elect their governors and commanders. Their choice fell on Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Ananus, the Chief Priest, who were invested with unlimited authority in the city. Eleazar, the son of Simon, who had taken so active a part in originating and conducting the first insurrection, and in the death of Manahem, was passed over. He was suspected, not without grounds, of aiming at kingly power, for he went about attended by a body guard of zealots. But Eleazar, probably as commanding within the temple, had made himself master of the spoil taken from the Romans, the military chest of Cestius, and a great part of the public treasures. In a short time, the want of money, and his extreme subtlety, won over the multitude, and all the real authority fell into his hands. To the other districts they sent the men whom they could best trust for courage and fidelity to their cause. To Idumæa, Jesus, son of Saphus, one of the chief priests, and Eleazar, the son of Ananias, also a chief priest. Niger of Peræa, who had

hitherto commanded in that district, was directed to receive his orders from them. To Jericho was sent Joseph, son of Simon, to Peræa, Manasseh, to Thamra, John the Essene: for even among these peaceful hermits were found men who would fight for their freedom. The toparchies of Lydda, Joppa and Emmaus, were added to his command. John, the son of Ananias, had the toparchies of Gophni and Acrabatene. Joseph, the son of Mathias, was intrusted with the command of Upper and Lower Galilee, with particular charge of the strong city Gamala.

Galilee was the province on which the storm would first break, and the confidence of the insurgents in the ability and zeal of Joseph, the son of Mathias, may be fairly estimated from their committing this important frontier to his charge. As long as the passes and hill fortresses of Galilee were defended, the southern region and Jerusalem itself might have time to organize their forces, and fortify their strong holds. Joseph, the son of Mathias, is better known as the celebrated Josephus the historian. He was a man of illustrious race, lineally descended from a priestly family, the first of the twenty-four courses, an eminent distinction. By his mother's side he traced his genealogy up to the Asmonean princes. His father Mathias was of upright character, as well as of noble birth; he resided in Jerusalem, where the young Joseph grew up with a brother named Mathias, with great reputation for early intelligence and memory. At fourteen years old (he is his own biographer) he was so fond of letters that the chief priests used to meet at his father's house to put to him difficult questions of the law. At sixteen he determined to acquaint himself with the three prevailing sects, those of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. For though he had led for some time a hardy, diligent, and studious life, he



did not consider himself yet sufficiently acquainted with the character of each sect to decide which he should follow. Having heard that a certain Essene, named Banus, was living in the desert the life of a hermit, making his raiment from the trees, and his food from the wild fruits of the earth, practising cold ablutions at all seasons, and in short using every means of mortification to increase his sanctity, Josephus, ambitious of emulating the fame of such an example of holy seclusion, joined him in his cell. But three years of this ascetic life tamed his zealous ambition, he grew weary of the desert, abandoned his great example of painful devotion, and returned to the city at the age of nineteen. There he joined the sect of the Pharisees. In his twenty-sixth year he undertook a voyage to Rome, in order to make interest in favour of certain priests, who had been sent there to answer some unimportant charge by Felix. They were friends of Josephus, and his zeal in their favour was heightened by hearing that, with religious attachment to the law, they refused, when in prison, to eat any unclean food, but lived on figs and nuts. On his voyage he was shipwrecked, like St. Paul, and in great danger. His ship foundered in the Adriatic, six hundred of the crew and passengers were cast into the sea, eighty contrived to swim, and were taken up by a ship from Cyrene. They arrived at Dicæarchia (Puteoli), the usual landing-place, and Joseph, making acquaintance with one Aliturus, an actor, a Jew by birth, and from his profession in high credit with the empress Poppea, he obtained the release of the prisoners, as well as valuable presents from Poppea, and returned home. During all this time he had studied diligently, and made himself master of the Greek language, which few of his countrymen could write, still fewer speak with a correct pronunciation.

On his return to Jerusalem, he found affairs in

the utmost confusion: great preparations were making for the war, and the insurgents were in high spirits. He united himself to the party, who were for peace, and strongly urged the rashness and peril of the war; apprehensive that these unpopular doctrines had made him an object of suspicion to the more violent, and dreading lest he might be seized and put to death, he retired, after the capture of the Antonia, into the inner temple. After the murder of Manahem, he stole forth from thence, and joined himself to a considerable body of the chief priests and leading Pharisees, who pretended to enter into the insurrectionary measures that they might save the lives of those who capitulated in the palace, yet looked with anxious eagerness for the advance of Cestius, who, it was expected, would easily suppress the revolt.

On the disastrous retreat of Cestius, and the barbarous massacre of the Jews in the Syrian cities, many of the more peaceful party joined heart and hand with the insurgents, others pursued a more temporizing policy, and outwardly uniting in defensive measures, still cherished a secret inclination to submission. To which of these parties Joseph the son of Mathias belonged, it is not quite so easy to decide; without his having acquired some confidence with the war faction, he would scarcely have been intrusted with the command in Galilee; yet he undertook that post with the approbation and at the request of the more moderate. Josephus, with his two coadjutors, Joazar and Judas, hastened to their government. The province of Galilee was divided into two districts, called Upper and Lower Galilee, it contained all the territory which had belonged to the northern tribes of Naphtali, Zebulun, Issachar and half Manasseh, reaching to the district of Ptolemais on the north and Samaria on the south. The Jordan was the eastern limit. The people were a bold, hardy, and warlike race; consi-

dered somewhat barbarous by the inhabitants of the metropolis, and speaking a harsh and guttural dialect of the Syro-Chaldaic language, which was the vernacular tongue of Palestine. The country was remarkably rich, abounding in pasture, corn land, and fruit-trees of every description. The population was very great. They lived in cities, which were numerous and large, and in great open villages, the least of which, says Josephus, contained 15,000 inhabitants. In many of these cities there was a mingled population of Syrians and Jews, rarely on an amicable footing, often forming fierce and hostile factions. Sepphoris was the capital, but that rank was disputed by Tiberias on the sea of Galilee.

The measures of Josephus were prudent and conciliatory, yet by no means wanting in vigour and decision. His object was to promote union and organize the whole country on one regular system. He endeavoured to acquire the confidence and attachment of the people. In order to interest and pledge all ranks to the common cause, as well as to secure the public peace, he appointed a sort of Sanhedrin of seventy, and seven judges in each city; all less important causes were to come before the latter tribunal; cases of murder before himself and the Sanhedrin. Yet he acknowledges that he kept the seventy about his person as a kind of hostages. In all respects he endeavoured to maintain the strictest character for probity and justice, particularly laboured in those lawless times to protect the chastity of the females from insult or outrage, refused all presents for the administration of justice, and declined all opportunities of enriching himself, though he confesses that he secured a considerable share in the confiscated property of the Syrian inhabitants in the cities, when they were expelled or massacred by the Jews. As he could not suppress the robbers, he obliged them, as far as he could, to

give up their profession, and enrol themselves as regular troops. Having thus provided that the war, if commenced, should be that of an orderly and united people, not the desultory conflict of insurgents and robbers, he proceeded to fortify with the greatest strength and expedition the most defensible towns, among many others, Jotapata, Tarichea, Tiberias, Itabyrium on Mount Tabor, and certain caves near the lake of Gennesareth. To the wealthy inhabitants of Sepphoris, who seemed to enter zealously into the cause, he granted the privilege of building their own fortifications, and gave permission to John, the son of Levi, afterward the celebrated John of Gischala, to strengthen that city. The others he superintended in person. He then raised an army of 100,000 men, armed them with weapons, obtained from all quarters, and proceeded to introduce the Roman discipline. He appointed centurions and decurions, regularly exercised the whole force in military manœuvres, and thus organized an effective army of 60,600 foot, and, according to the text of Josephus, from which probably a cipher has fallen, 250 horse. Besides these he had 4,500 mercenaries, on which he placed his chief reliance, and a body guard of 600.

Such were the general results of Joseph's administration, but all these vigorous and prudent measures were perpetually interrupted and rendered abortive, partly by the internal dissensions of the province, but chiefly by the machinations of his subtle enemy, John of Gischala. While Josephus invariably represents himself as the most upright, incorruptible, and patriotic of men, no colours are too dark for the character of his antagonist. John of Gischala surpassed all men of high rank in craft and deceit, all of every class in wickedness. He was at first a poor adventurer, his poverty stood in the way of his advancement, but by his readiness in falsehood, and by the singular skill with which

he glozed over his falsehoods so as to make all men believe them, he deceived his nearest friends; affecting humanity, yet most sanguinary for the slightest advantage, lofty in his ambition, but stooping to the basest means to obtain his end. He began as a single robber, but gradually collected a powerful and select banditti, for he would only admit men distinguished either for strength, bravery, or warlike skill. His force at length amounted to 4000, and with these he long wasted Galilee. Such was the man who counterworked all the measures of Josephus, and inflamed the dissensions of the province, already too little disposed to lasting union.

For though the cities of Galilee seem generally to have submitted to the administration of Joseph and his coadjutors, so as to permit their walls to be put in a state of defence, yet each had its separate interests and inclinations, and was distracted by violent factions. Sepphoris, though intrusted with building its own walls, and, as Josephus says in one place, hearty in the cause, yet inclined to the Roman party: the inhabitants had sworn fealty, and given hostages from the chief families of the city to Cestius, these were still at Cæsarea. On the arrival of Josephus in his province, he found the territory of Sepphoris threatened with an attack by the rest of the Galileans on account of their dealings with the Romans. This danger was averted by Josephus, and the Sepphorites united, as was before said, in the common cause. Tiberias was distracted by three factions. This city belonged to Agrippa, and one faction, consisting of the more opulent and respectable burghers, headed by Julius Capellus, were desirous of preserving their allegiance to the king. A second of the lowest class, headed by Jesus, son of Saphia, were clamorous for war. A third, was headed by Justus, who afterward wrote a history of the war. Justus, according to his rival Josephus, only regarded his own

interests. He had endeavoured to excite a feud between Tiberias and Sepphoris, asserting that on account of the manifest defection of the latter to the Roman party, Tiberias might justly be considered the capital of Galilee. He had meditated the attack on the Sepphorite district, but as yet had only carried his plundering bands into the lands of Gadara, and Hippos. Josephus, after settling affairs at Sepphoris, went to Bethmaus, within half a mile of Tiberias. He sent for the senate, who came readily to parley with him; he opened his commission from the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, and demanded the demolition of a palace built by Herod the Tetrarch, and adorned with "grayen images" of living creatures. The party of Agrippa opposed this measure; but the war-faction, headed by Jesus son of Saphia, were ready for any work of destruction. Besides, they were not a little tempted by the hope of plunder, for the roof of the palace was gilded. They proceeded to plunder the furniture, and then to burn the palace to the ground. Flushed with their success they rose on the Syrians, massacred all they could find, and at the same time seized the opportunity of revenging themselves on all their fellow-citizens who had been their enemies before the war.

Josephus seems to have been anxious to remain on terms with Agrippa. He assumed great indignation at the plunder of the palace, of which he had authorized the demolition, gathered up the wrecks of the furniture, consisting of candlesticks of Corinthian brass, royal tables, and uncoined silver, and committed them to the custody of Capellus, the head of Agrippa's party. Josephus then proceeded to Gischala. At the commencement of the insurrection, John had rather inclined to the Roman faction. Upon this the inhabitants of Gadara, Gebara, Sogana, and other towns, had assailed and burnt Gischala. John, however, had rallied his forces, recovered the

town, and fortified it more strongly than before. As yet John and Josephus were on good terms. Josephus admired the activity of John, and John was anxious to obtain every possible advantage from the governor of the province. He first proposed to Josephus that he might be permitted to carry off large quantities of corn stored up by the Romans in upper Galilee; the sale of this, he stated, would enable him to complete his fortifications. Josephus answered that he should keep that corn either for the Romans, the owners, (a suspicious answer!) or for the use of the province intrusted to him by the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem. John then demanded and obtained a monopoly of oil sold in Syria. For the Jews in the Syrian towns would not use the unclean oil prepared by the heathen, and were obliged to obtain it from their own country. John drove a thriving trade; for four Attick drachms he bought four measures of oil, which he sold again at the same sum for half a measure. This money he employed in undermining the power of Josephus, and industriously propagated reports, which accused him of intending to betray the province to the Romans. Whether or not the suspicions of John had any substantial grounds, strong circumstances combined to throw a shade on the popularity of Josephus. Certain youths of a village called Dabarittæ, in the great plain, waylaid and plundered Ptolemy, the agent of king Agrippa. With their spoils, consisting of embroidered robes, silver vessels, and six hundred pieces of gold, they went to Josephus; then at Tarichea. Josephus rebuked them for the robbery, and committed the property to the custody of one of the chief citizens of Tarichea, to be restored to the owners. The robbers, deprived of their booty, raised loud outcries against the governor, whom they accused of being in a treasonable league with the king. One hundred thousand armed men assembled (Josephus is somewhat prone to large numbers)

and thronged the circus of Tarichea; some cried out to depose, some to burn him. With this intent they surrounded his house, all his friends, except four, fled; Josephus suddenly awoke from sleep, he was neither confounded by the noise of his assailants, nor the desertion of his friends. He rent his robes, poured ashes on his head, with his hands behind him, and his sword suspended around his neck, he went out to face the tumult. The Taricheans were moved with compassion: the ruder countrymen continued their clamour, ordered him to bring forth the plunder, and confess his treasons. Josephus answered with an effrontery and readiness of falsehood which might have done credit to his mendacious rival John of Gischala. "Men of Tarichea, ye are quite in error if ye suppose that I kept these treasures with any design of restoring them to king Agrippa. The fact is, that seeing the walls of your town in a ruinous and dismantled state, I have kept them to be spent in fortifying your loyal city." This bold address threw the Taricheans, to the number of 40,000, on his side. The strangers, particularly those of Tiberias, continued the tumult for some time, but at length sullenly withdrew, with the exception of 2000, (600) of the most desperate. These men, when Josephus retired again to rest, surrounded his house and threatened to break down the doors. Josephus had recourse to a stratagem, still more daring. He mounted the roof of the house, and making a sign that he wished to address them, he began with saying that from the height he could not distinguish their demands, but if they would depute some of their leaders, he was ready to treat with them. No sooner were those few admitted, than he ordered them to be dragged into the inner part of the house, and scourged till their bowels were laid open. The mob began to grow impatient, when the doors were opened, and their leaders were turned out among them, in this bloody and mangled



state. The mob, supposing that he would not have ventured on such a step, without a great force concealed, dispersed in consternation.\* The secret enemy of Josephus, John of Gischala, had prompted this outrage, but as there was no open breach between them, John, pretending to be ill, sent to demand permission to visit Tiberias, for the benefit of the warm baths in that city. There, partly by persuasion, partly by bribes, he induced the inhabitants to renounce their allegiance to the governor. Silas, who commanded in the city under Josephus, sent immediate intelligence of the state of affairs. Josephus travelled night and day, and suddenly appeared in Tiberias. John, pretending that he was confined to his bed, excused himself from paying his respects to the governor. Josephus assembled the people of Tiberias in the circus. He had begun to address them, when he was suddenly interrupted by a loud outcry from the spectators; turning round, he saw a band of armed men, with their swords drawn, who were placed by John to assassinate him, he leaped from his rostrum, which was about six feet high, rushed to the beach, seized a boat, and with two of his followers pushed out into the lake and escaped.

His soldiers, in the meantime, attacked the band of John, but Josephus, apprehensive of a civil war, sent orders to his troops to abstain from bloodshed, and resisted all the urgent entreaties of his other Galilean friends, who were eager to make an exam-

\* This transaction, as indeed the whole narrative of his administration in Galilee, is related with such extraordinary variations in the life of Josephus, and in the history of the Jewish war, as to leave a very unfavourable impression, if not of the writer's veracity, at least of his accuracy. It is impossible to keep the same order of events, and in this affair the War gives the number of armed men at 2000, the Life at 600. In the former, those admitted into the house are called the more distinguished and the rulers, and are sent in to treat on terms of agreement. In the other, some of the men are sent in to receive the money, which he was accused of appropriating. In the one, all those admitted are scourged; in the other, one ringleader, who has his hand cut off and hung about his neck

ple of the treacherous city. John fled to Gischala, where Josephus did not think it prudent to attack him, but contented himself with expelling those who espoused his party, from every city in Galilee.

In the meantime, Sepphoris began again to waver. The inhabitants sent to Jesus, who commanded a noted troop of banditti, 800 strong, on the borders of Ptolemais, offering him a large sum to make war on Josephus. Jesus thought it more prudent to earn his wages by stratagem than by open force. He sent to request an interview with Josephus, that he might salute him, and immediately began his march with his whole troop. One of his followers, however, deserted and put Josephus on his guard. Thus forewarned, Josephus proceeded to the interview, having occupied all the roads with his own forces, and gave orders that Jesus alone, and his immediate followers, should be admitted within the gates, which were to be closed immediately on their entrance. Jesus entered boldly, but Josephus instantly ordered him to throw down his arms, or he was a dead man. Trembling, he obeyed. Josephus took him apart, informed him that he was aware of his treacherous designs, but offered him pardon if he would repent and swear to be faithful to him in future. Jesus complied, and Josephus having severely threatened the Sepphorites, departed to quell new disturbances. On his way he encountered two officers of the king, from Trachonitis, who wished to join him with some horse; these men the Jews would have forced to submit to circumcision. Josephus interfered, and asserted the right of every man to worship God according to his conscience. Gamala now demanded the presence of the indefatigable governor. After the departure of Philip, Agrippa's general, a certain Joseph, son of a female physician, persuaded the people to revolt. They forced some to enter into their views, others they put to death. They fortified the city, with the ap-

probation of Josephus, and all Gaulonitis, a district which skirted Upper Galilee, followed their example. Gamala was now threatened by *Æquicolus Modius*; in the meantime, *Neapolitanus*, with some Roman troops, pushed towards *Tiberias*, and *Æbutius*, a decurion, advanced against Josephus, who lay at *Simonias*. *Æbutius* endeavoured to draw him down to the plain, where his cavalry would have given him an advantage. Josephus continued on the hills, and *Æbutius* withdrew with some loss. Josephus then, in his turn, made an attack on some magazines of corn, which he carried off, quietly loading his camels and asses, in the sight of *Æbutius*, who was fairly out-generalled. *Æquicolus Modius* failed in his attempt on Gamala.

John of Gischala, meantime, remained quiet in his citadel, but it was only because he was laying a train from a greater distance, which was to explode under the feet of his enemy. He sent his brother *Simon*, and *Jonathan*, son of *Sisenna*, to *Simon*, son of *Gamaliel*, at Jerusalem, to persuade the people that Josephus was forming a dangerous power in Galilee, and to demand his recall. *Simon* was a man of great character and weight, but ill-disposed to Josephus, and closely allied with John. By bribes they brought *Ananus*, the chief priest, who at first espoused the cause of Josephus, and *Jesus*, the son of *Gamala*, into their party. They determined to act with caution, lest Josephus should advance with his numerous and devoted army against Jerusalem. *Jonathan* and *Ananias*, two learned and influential Pharisees, and *Joazar* and *Simon*, priests, were sent gradually to alienate the Galileans from their attachment to Josephus, and then either to put him to death or bring him alive to Jerusalem. They had troops with them; John of Gischala received orders to render them every support, and *Sepphoris*, *Gabara*, and *Tiberias*, were to hold their troops in readiness at the command of John. Josephus got

intelligence of the plot through his father, and also, as he relates, through a remarkable dream, which warned him that he should remain in Galilee, and fight against the Romans. In compliance with the earnest supplications of all the Galileans, who entreated him not to abandon them, he gave up his intention of submitting to the mandate and withdrawing to Jerusalem. With 8,000 foot and 80 horse, he posted himself at Chabolo, on the frontier of Ptolemais, under the pretext of making head against Placidus, who had begun to waste Galilee. Four of their cities, Sepphoris, Gamala, Gischala, and Tiberias, acknowledged the authority of the deputation from Jerusalem. The deputies who had travelled secretly and with expedition, in order to come on Josephus unawares, finding him on his guard, still attempted to proceed by craft rather than by force. They sent a friendly letter, informing him that they were come to punish the subtle proceedings of his enemy John, and to force him to obedience. Josephus kept the letter unopened to the evening, when he had a great banquet of his friends, to which he invited the messenger. He then secretly made himself master of its contents, and sealed it up again. He ordered the messenger 20 drachms, as a reward for having brought welcome intelligence. The messenger was delighted. He then plied him with wine, and offered him a drachm with every cup, till the man betrayed the whole plot. Josephus wrote back a friendly answer, excusing himself from attendance, on account of the necessity of watching Placidus. The deputies, who passed from place to place, and found almost every town in favour of Josephus; and enraged against John, sent a more peremptory message, requiring his attendance at Gabara, to make good his charge against John of Gischala. Josephus expressed his readiness to wait upon them, but not at Gabara or Gischala, where he apprehended treachery. They

determined to send messengers throughout Galilee to excite the malecontents. Josephus waylaid the roads from Gabara, seized all the messengers, and made himself master of all the letters. Upon this he surrounded Gabara with his own Galileans, and boldly entered the town. He first went to repose at an inn; his enemies seized the opportunity to raise the people against him, but failed. Josephus soon after made his appearance in the assembly. The Galileans surrounded the hall with loud acclamations. John and his friends endeavoured, in vain, to make their escape. Josephus publicly read the letters which he had intercepted, the deputies were confounded, the people unanimous in their applause. The mob would willingly have fallen on the whole assembly, who were saved only by the merciful intervention of Josephus. Josephus then took horse and rode away to Sogana. From thence he despatched an embassy of 100 men of distinction, escorted by an armed guard of 500, to Jerusalem.

The discomfited deputies retired to Tiberias, John to Gischala. At Tiberias they expected the city to declare in their favour, but Josephus suddenly made his appearance there. They received him with hypocritical courtesy, but requested him to withdraw; on account of the approaching Sabbath, lest there should be a disturbance. He retired to Tarichea; new scenes of trickery followed; the deputies, with Jesus and Justus, the turbulent leaders of Tiberias, endeavoured to raise the town. Josephus again appeared with his soldiers; they got rid of him by a false alarm of Roman troops seen in the neighbourhood. Josephus counteracted this by another plot. They appointed a general fast, during which no one was to appear armed at the Proseuchæ. Josephus and his friends concealed their daggers and breastplates under their robes, and when the enemy expected to find them defenceless, they brandished their weapons. The deputation of Jo

sephus, in the mean time, returned from Jerusalem with a favourable answer, confirming him in the government. He summoned an assembly of the Galileans, who, in the same spirit, declared their ready and cheerful submission to his command. Emboldened by this, he began to act with greater vigour; he chastised the unruly inhabitants of Tiberias, got the deputies into his power, and sent them back to Jerusalem.

Tiberias attempted again to revolt, and surrender the city to the troops of Agrippa. Not having his forces in readiness, Josephus had recourse, as usual, to one of his stratagems. He seized 240 vessels, put not above four sailors in each, and commanded them to take their station in sight of the town, and then advanced boldly to the gates. The citizens supposing the ships full of soldiers, surrendered at discretion. Josephus got the senators to the number of 600, and 2000 of the people within his power, and sent them to Tarichea. They denounced one Clitus, as the ringleader; he was carried to the shore to have his hands cut off; on his earnest application, one was spared; the rest of the malecontents were pardoned. After this, Josephus surprised Gischala, and gave it up to pillage. Sepphoris admitted the troops of Gallus into their city. Josephus, with his forces, scaled the walls, but was beaten back, and afterward defeated in the open plain. The troops of Agrippa soon after made their appearance under the command of Sylla; they were posted near Julias. Josephus, endeavoured, by a feigned flight, to betray them into an ambush, and might have succeeded, but his horse unfortunately plunged into a morass, and he was severely hurt in the wrist, and carried to Cepharnome. From thence, feverish symptoms appearing, he was removed to Tarichea.

Thus we have endeavoured to wind our weary way through the intricate politics of Galilee. It is

difficult to conceive how all these intrigues, as well as all the masterly and effective warlike preparations of Josephus, could be carried on simultaneously, more particularly if all these transactions must be crowded into the winter of one year, 66-7. Besides the details of armies raised, armed, and exercised; cities fortified and strengthened; the civil administration set on a regular footing; by his own statement, Josephus twice took Sepphoris, four times Tiberias, once Gadara, perhaps Gischala; counteracted the plots, defeated the troops, took and pardoned his subtle antagonist John. Yet we must either, adhering to the usual chronology, admit this improbability, or throw back the whole events of the year which ended in the defeat of Cestius Gallus, into the year 65; and adopt almost as incredible a supposition, that, with most unusual inactivity, the Romans left the defeat of Cestius unrevenged, and allowed the Jews a whole year to organize their revolt, and strengthen their territory against invasion.

In the meantime, the insurgents in Jerusalem continued to press their preparations for war, with as great activity and less interruption than those in Galilee. For though the timid and moderate groaned in heart to hear the din of war, the clattering of arms; the gymnasia echoing with the tramping march of all the youth in military exercise; and sadly foreboded the miseries and ruin to which the joyous city, the place of national festival, the rich, the beautiful, the holy city of Sion was thus self-devoted; though they could not utter their prayers in the temple, nor make their offerings on the altar of Jehovah without awful misgivings that before long the worship might be proscribed, and fire and sword lay waste the courts of the Lord's house: yet they were constrained to suppress or conceal the unpopular weakness, and trembled lest the fierce

eye of the zealot or the assassin should detect the dangerous or unpatriotic emotion.

In the city, Ananus the chief priest took the lead; arms were fabricated with the greatest expedition; the walls strengthened, military engines made, and stores of every kind laid in with the utmost care and expedition. The timid and moderate were not the only enemies with whom Ananus had to contend. The fierce Simon, the son of Gioras, has already appeared, at the head of his daring bandits, rendering good service during the retreat of Cestius. In the toparchy of Acrabete-ne,\* he had betaken himself, not to the regular defence of the country, but to the most lawless ravage. He broke open and pillaged the houses of the opulent; and even inflicted personal violence, scourging and maltreating all who opposed him. Already men began to forebode both his daring ambition, which would not be content with less than the highest station, and his cruelty, which would scruple at no means of obtaining or securing advancement. Ananus sent some troops against him; Simon took refuge with men of a kindred spirit, who held Masada; and from thence he pursued his ravages in Idumæa, till the magistrates of that district were constrained to raise an army, and set a guard in every village.

It was probably soon after the defeat of Cestius, that an unsuccessful expedition was attempted against Ascalon. This strong city, situated about sixty-five miles from Jerusalem, was weakly garrisoned by one cohort of foot and one troop of horse, under a commander named Antonius. The Jews marched out in great force under Niger of Peræa, Silas the Babylonian, and John the Essene. Antonius, undismayed by the number and the daring

\* There were two Acrabatenes, which cause great confusion; one, according to Jerome, between Neapolis, Sichem, and Jericho; the other in the south of Judæa, bordering on Idumæa.



of the enemy, led out his horse. The Jewish soldiers were all infantry, undisciplined and unused to war. The first furious charge of the cavalry broke their van, which fell back on their main body, threw it into confusion, and the whole army was scattered in small squadrons over the field. The active Roman horse attacked first one band, then another, charging and riding round them, their mounted archers making dreadful havoc. Numbers were of no avail, or rather stood in the way of effective defence. The vast and confused multitude could not fight, and would not fly. Night put an end to the battle, or rather to the carnage. 10,000 men, with Judas and Silas, fell: Niger escaped with the rest to a small tower named Sallæ. The Jews were not cast down by this signal defeat. In the shortest time, not enough for the wounded to get healed, they assembled all their forces, and in still greater pride and indignation again marched out against Ascalon. They had learned as little prudence as humility. Antonius occupied the passes with an ambush, and suddenly surrounding the Jewish army with his horse, after scarcely any resistance, cut down 8000 of them. Niger, who showed great courage in the retreat, again escaped, and got possession of a strong tower in a village called Bezedel. The Romans, who had not time for a regular siege, and yet were unwilling to allow so formidable a leader to escape, set fire to the wall. Having seen the tower in flames, they retreated in triumph. Niger, however, leaped down into a deep cavern which was under the tower; and when his sorrowing companions came three days after to find his body, that they might bury it, they heard his feeble voice calling them from below. The Jews were full of joy, and looked on the escape of their champion as little less than a miraculous proof of divine favour.

## BOOK XV.

## THE WAR.

*Vespasian—Siege of Jotapata—Fall of Japha—Mount Gerizim—  
Capture of Jotapata—Josephus—Surrender of Tiberias—Fall of  
Tarichea—Massacre—Siege of Gamala—Fall of Itabyrium—Taking  
of Gamala—of Gischala—Flight of John—Feuds in Jerusalem.*

WITH the early spring Vespasian appeared at Antioch; at the head of his powerful army. There Agrippa met him with all his forces. Vespasian advanced to Ptolemais: he was met by a deputation from Sepphoris. The metropolis of Galilee, notwithstanding the authority and the threats of Josephus, again made overtures to join the invader. Vespasian received the deputies with great courtesy, and sent them back with a strong body of 1000 horse and 6000 foot, to defend their city against any attack of the Jews. These troops, under the command of Placidus, took up their position towards the great plain, the foot within the city, the cavalry encamped without the walls. From these quarters they ravaged the surrounding country. Josephus made one strong effort to recover the capital, but was repulsed, and only the more exasperated the Romans, who spread fire and sword over the whole region; they slew all who were able to bear arms, the rest they carried off as slaves.

Titus, with expedition unusual during the winter season, sailed from Achaia to Alexandria. From thence he shipped his troops for Ptolemais, and joined his father. Vespasian was now at the head of three of the most distinguished legions of the Roman army,—the fifth, tenth, and fifteenth. Besides these, he had twenty-three cohorts, five of

them from Cæsarea. Ten of these cohorts mustered 1000 men; the rest 600, with 150 horse each. The allied force consisted of 2000 foot, all archers, and 1000 horse, furnished by Antiochus, Agrippa, and Sohemus. Malchus, king of Arabia, sent 1000 horse and 5000 foot, the greatest part archers. The whole army amounted to 60,000 regulars, horse and foot, besides followers of the camp, who were also accustomed to military service, and could fight on occasion.

The campaign was now formally opened: the forces of Placidus overspread the whole country. Josephus attempted no resistance in the open field. The inhabitants had been directed to fly to the fortified cities; all who were not expeditious or fortunate enough to escape were cut off or seized. But these were the unwarlike part of the people: the more active and courageous had all crowded into the cities. The strongest of all these was Jotapata, where Josephus commanded in person. Placidus concluded that, if, by an unexpected attack, he could make himself master of that important post, the blow would so terrify the rest, that they would immediately fall. He marched rapidly against it; but the garrison of Jotapata received timely information; and anticipated the attack by a daring sally, for which the Romans were entirely unprepared. The troops of Placidus were repulsed; many wounded, but only seven killed; for the legionaries retreated in good order, and being entirely covered with their defensive armour, seldom received mortal wounds. The Jews were only light-armed troops, who rarely ventured to fight hand to hand, but annoyed the enemy at a distance with their javelins. It was an inspiring commencement of the campaign.

At length the vast army of Vespasian began to move. Josephus describes the order of march with the accuracy of an eyewitness. He must, indeed,

have watched its stern and regular advance with the trembling curiosity of the sailor, who sees the tempest slowly gathering, which is about to burst, and perhaps wreck, his weak and ill-appointed bark. The van was preceded by the light-armed allies and their archers, who scattered over the plain to observe any unexpected attack of the enemy, and to examine all the woods or thickets that might conceal an ambuscade. Then came part of the heavy-armed cavalry and infantry, followed by ten of each centenary, carrying the furniture and vessels of the camp. After these the pioneers, who were to straighten the winding roads, level the hills, or cut down the woods which might impede the march of the main army. Then came the baggage of the general and his officers, strongly guarded by cavalry. Next rode the general, with a picked troop of foot, horse, and lancers. After him the horse of his own legion, for to each legion there were 120 cavalry attached. Then the mules, which carried the military engines, and the besieging train. The lieutenant generals, the commanders of cohorts, and the tribunes followed, each with a chosen band of men. Then the eagles, of which each legion had one. The standards were followed by the trumpeters. Behind came the phalanx itself, in files six deep. A centurion, whose business it was to keep order, brought up their rear. Behind them were the servants with the baggage, on mules and other beasts of burden. After the Romans marched the mercenaries; a strong rear guard of light and heavy-armed foot, and many horse, closed the procession. The host passed on in its awful magnificence. Vespasian halted on the frontier of Galilee, as if to give the revolted province time for repentance, or to strike terror into the more obstinate insurgents. The measure was not without effect; no sooner did the army of Josephus, which was encamped at Garis, not far from Sepphoris, hear of this tremendous

invasion, than, before they had seen the enemy, they dispersed on all sides; and Josephus, left almost alone, began to despair of the war. It was idle to think of opposing such an enemy with a few dispirited troops; he gathered, therefore, the wreck of his army, and fled to Tiberias.

Vespasian marched against Gadara; the city was ungarrisoned, and the stern Roman proceeded to make a terrible example, and to wipe out the affront of Cestius in the blood of the enemy. The youth were put to the sword, not a man escaped; the city, with every village and hamlet in the neighbourhood, was burnt to the ground; the few villagers, whose lives were spared, were seized as slaves. The retreat of Josephus to Tiberias filled the city with consternation; they naturally construed it into a proof that he despaired of success. They were not wrong, for the manner in which the war was conducted made him consider resistance hopeless. Yet, though by his own account he could immediately have made terms with the Romans, he determined not to abandon the cause. He sent despatches to Jerusalem, strongly worded, in which he exhorted them to make their immediate option, either of capitulating at once, or sending a powerful and effective army into the field.

Jotapata was the city in which the greater part, and those the bravest, of the Galilean warriors had taken refuge. It was strongly situated in a rugged mountainous district. The roads were scarcely practicable for infantry, quite impassable for horse. In four days the pioneers of Vespasian cut a practicable road right through the mountains, and on the fifth, Jotapata lay open to the army. Josephus contrived to throw himself into the city. This was made known to Vespasian by a deserter. He became more eager for the capture of the town when he heard that the general in chief was within the walls. It seemed as though the most prudent of

the enemy had surrendered himself, as into a prison. Placidus and Æbutius, decurions of great merit, in whom Vespasian had great confidence, were sent with 1000 horse to surround the walls, and cut off all possibility of escape.

The next day, May 15th, Vespasian advanced in person with his whole army. During all the day, till late in the evening, the defenders of Jotapata saw from their lofty battlements the slow and endless files emerging from the straight and level road which led to the city walls. It was in the strength of their position, their rugged and precipitous mountains, and their dark and impenetrable forests, that they had relied for their security. To their consternation they saw the woods falling before the axe of the pioneer, like grain before the sickle of the reaper; the lofty crests of their mountains, as it were, bowing down their heads before the resistless invader; and nature itself giving up the custody of her unprotected fortress. Vespasian drew up his whole army on a hill, less than a mile to the north of the city; his object was to strike terror into the defenders by the display of his whole force, which lay encamped on the slope. He was not mistaken in the effect which it produced: the garrison cowered behind their walls; not a man ventured forth. The army, weary with their long march, did not advance to an immediate assault: they proceeded to draw a triple line of circumvallation round the city; and thus every chance of escape was cut off. This, however, instead of striking terror, drove the whole garrison to despair. They felt themselves cooped up, like wild beasts in their lair; they had no course left but to fight gallantly to the utmost; and their first consternation gave place to the fiercest valour and the most stubborn resolution.

The next day the attack began. The Jews, disdaining to be pent up within their walls, pitched their camp before the trenches, and went boldly forth to

meet the enemy. Vespasian ordered the bowmen and slingers to gall them with their missiles, and himself with the infantry began to ascend a declivity which led to the least defensible part of the wall. Josephus saw the danger, and with the whole strength of the garrison made a resolute sally, and drove the assailants down the hill. Great valour was displayed on both sides. On one side fought desperation; on the other, the haughty shame of being defeated by such a foe; the Romans had skill in the use of their weapons; the Jews made up what they wanted in practice and experience with reckless bravery. Night separated the combatants, yet the slaughter was not great on either side: the Romans lost thirteen killed and many wounded; the Jews, seventeen killed, but six hundred wounded.

On the following day they again attacked the Romans. They had become more resolute; since they found they could make head against their formidable enemies. Every morning added to the fury of the contest; for five days the Romans continued to make their assaults, and the Jews to sally forth or fight from the walls with equal courage; the Jews had now lost all their terror of the Roman prowess; while the Romans, with their obstinate bravery, persisted in forcing their way to the walls.

Jotapata stood on the summit of a lofty hill, on three sides rising abruptly from the deep and impassable ravines which surround it. Looking down from the summit of the walls the eye could not discover the bottom of these frightful chasms. It was so imbosomed in lofty mountains that it could not be seen till it was actually approached. It could only be entered on the north; where the end of the ridge sloped more gradually down; on this declivity the city was built; and Josephus had fortified this part with a very strong wall. Vespasian called a council of war. It was determined to raise an embankment (agger) against the most practicable part

of the wall. The whole army was sent out to provide materials. The neighbouring mountains furnished vast quantities of stone and timber. In order to cover themselves from the javelins and arrows of the garrison, the assailants stretched a kind of roof, made with wattles of wicker-work, over their palisades; under this pent-house they laboured securely at their embankment. They worked in three divisions, one bringing earth, the others stone, or wood. The Jews were not idle, they hurled down immense stones and every kind of missile upon the workmen, which, although they did not do much damage, came thundering down over their heads with appalling noise, and caused some interruption to their labours.

Vespasian brought out his military engines, of which he had 160, in order to clear the walls of these troublesome assailants. The catapults began to discharge their hissing javelins, the balistas heaved huge stones of enormous weight; the balls of fire and blazing arrows fell in showers. The Arab archers, the javelin men, and the slingers, at the same time, plied their terrible weapons, so that a considerable space of the wall was entirely cleared: not a man durst approach the battlements. But the Jews, who could not fight from above, began to attack from below. They stole out in small bands, like robbers, came secretly on the workmen, pulled down their breastworks, and struck at them as they stood naked and without their armour, which they had pulled off to work with greater activity. If the besiegers fled, they instantly demolished the embankment, and set fire to the timbers and the wattles. Vespasian, perceiving that the intervals between the different breastworks, under which the separate parties were labouring, facilitated the attack, ordered one to be carried all round, and, uniting all the working



parties, effectually prevented these destructive attacks.

The garrison at length beheld this vast embankment completed; it almost reached to the height of their battlements; it stood towering right opposite to them, as if another city had arisen beside their own, and from the equal heights of their respective walls they were to join in deadly conflict for the mastery. Josephus hastily summoned his workmen and gave orders that the city walls should be raised to a much greater height. The workmen represented that it was impossible; as long as the wall was thus commanded by the enemy, to carry on their labour. Josephus was not baffled; he ordered tall stakes to be driven on the top of the wall, upon which he suspended hides of oxen newly killed. On this yielding curtain the stones fell dead; the other missiles glided off without damage; and even the fire-darts were quenched by the moisture. Under this covering his men worked night and day till they had raised the wall twenty cubits, thirty-five feet. He likewise built a great number of towers on the wall, and surrounded the whole with a strong battlement. The Romans, who thought themselves already masters of the city, were not a little discouraged, and were astonished at the skill and enterprise of the defenders; but Vespasian was only the more enraged at the obstinacy of the garrison, and the subtlety of the commander. For the defenders, become confident in the strength of their bulwarks, began to renew their former sallies; they fought in small bands, with the courage of regular troops, and all the tricks and cunning of robbers. Sometimes they crept out and carried off whatever they could lay their hands on; sometimes, unperceived, set fire to the works. At length, Vespasian determined to turn the siege into a blockade; and, as he could not take the city by assault, to reduce it by famine. For, in a short time, the

garrison would either desire to capitulate, or, if they were still obstinate in their resistance, would perish from want; at all events, if it was necessary to renew the attack, their men would be enfeebled by privation and suffering. Accordingly, he kept his troops in their quarters, and contented himself with strictly blockading every avenue to the city.

The besieged were very well supplied with grain, and every other necessary excepting salt; but there was great want of water. There was no spring in the city; the inhabitants were obliged to be content with rain water. But during the summer it rarely if ever rains in that region, and as the summer was the time of the siege, they began to be dreadfully dispirited; and to look forward in horrible apprehension to the time when their supply would entirely fail. Josephus commanded the water which remained to be rigidly measured out. This scanty doling out of that necessary refreshment to men parched with fatigue, and many of them feverish with wounds, seemed worse even than absolute privation; the sense of want seemed to aggravate their thirst; and many began to faint, as if already at the worst extremity of drought. The Romans saw what was going on within the walls; and, as the inhabitants crept along with their pitchers to a particular spot to receive their daily allotment of water, they pointed their engines at them, and struck them down as they passed.

But the fertile mind of Josephus had not exhausted its store of schemes: he ordered a great number of his men to steep their clothes in water and hang them up from the battlements, till the wall ran down with the dripping moisture. The Romans were confounded; for men who could waste so much water out of mere wantonness, could not possibly be in the wretched state of privation they had hoped. Vespasian, weary of thus blockading a city so amply supplied, returned to the assault, the mode of attack

to which the Jews wished to drive him. For in their state it was better to perish at once by the sword, than by thirst and famine.

Josephus had another stratagem by which he kept up intelligence with those without the city. There was one narrow and rugged path, down the dry bed of a torrent, which led into the valley to the south. It was so dangerous and seemingly impracticable, that the Romans neglected to guard it. By this way the messengers of Josephus stole out of the city, bearing letters to and from the commander, and every thing of small bulk of which the garrison stood in need. These men, in general, crept out on all fours, covered with the skins of beasts, that they might look like dogs. This went on for a long time, till at length the way was detected, and closed up by the enemy.

At this perilous juncture Josephus honestly confesses that he began to think of his own personal safety; and entered into deliberation with some of the chief leaders of the garrison, as to the means of effecting their escape. Their counsel transpired, and they were environed by all the people of the city, earnestly entreating them not to abandon the wretched town to the fury of the enraged enemy; for, so long as he and the garrison remained; there was some hope of resistance, directly they were gone, the city must inevitably fall, and merciless extermination was the only fate which they could expect. The crafty general endeavoured to persuade them, that his only object in leaving the town, would be to provide more effectually for their safety; that he would raise all Galilee, and so harass the Romans as to force them to break up the siege: that his presence was of no real service, but only made Vespasian the more obstinate in his determination to capture the town. This language only the more inflamed the multitude; the women with their infants in their arms began to wail, boys

and old men fell at his feet, and embracing them, besought him to remain and share their fate. "Not," Josephus adds, "from any jealousy lest I should save my life, while theirs were in danger, but because they entertained some hope of saving their own through my means. As long as I remained, they were safe."

Partly moved by compassion, partly feeling that if he did not consent to their entreaties, he might be detained by force, Josephus determined to stand firm at his post, and seized the moment of excitement, to lead his force to a desperate attack. "If then," he exclaimed, "there is no hope of safety, let us die nobly, and leave a glorious example to posterity." The bravest crowded round him, and some rushed suddenly forth, drove in the Roman guard, and carried their inroads even into the camp; they tore up the hides with which they had defended their works, and set fire to the lines in many places. A second and third day they continued these furious attacks; and for many nights and days kept up, without being wearied, a perpetual alarm.

Vespasian found the heavy armed Legionaries ill-suited to this desultory warfare; from the unwieldy weight of their armour they could not, from their pride they would not, retreat: and, when they turned again in any force, the light-armed Jews in an instant disappeared within their walls. Besides, the valour of the Jews was mere desperation, like a fierce fire, if unresisted it would burn out. He ordered therefore the regular troops to decline these attacks, and to repel the sallies of the besieged with the Arabian archers, and Syrian slingers. The engines in the mean time never ceased discharging their showers of bolts and stones; these sorely distressed the Jews, but sometimes getting under the range of the engines, they fiercely attacked the Romans, never sparing their lives, and new troops

continually filling up the places of those who were fatigued or slain.

The Roman general found that he was, as it were, besieged in his turn; and as the embankment had now reached close to the wall, he ordered the battering ram to be advanced. This was the most formidable of all the besieging artillery, used in ancient warfare. It was an immense beam, headed with iron, in the shape of a ram's head, from whence it took its name; it was suspended by cables from another beam, which was supported by strong tall posts; it was drawn back, by a great number of men, and then driven forward with so tremendous a recoil, that tower or wall could scarcely ever resist the shock, and the Romans were accustomed to see the bulwarks of the strongest cities crumble as it were to dust, the instant they could bring that irresistible machine to work. As the heavy ram slowly advanced towards the walls, covered with a penthouse of wattles and hides, both for the protection of the engine and of the men who were to work it, the catapults and other engines, with the archers and slingers, were commanded to play with increasing activity, to sweep the walls, and distract the besieged. The battlements were entirely cleared of the defenders, who lay crouching below, not knowing what was about to happen. At the first blow of the ram the wall shook as with an earthquake, and a wild cry rose from the besieged, as if the city were already taken.

The engine went on battering at the same place, shock after shock: the wall already began to totter and crumble, when Josephus thought of a new expedient. He ordered a number of sacks to be filled with straw, and let down by ropes from the walls, to catch the hard blows of the ram, wherever it might strike. The Romans were perplexed, for their blows fell dead on this soft and yielding substance: and in their turn they fastened the blades

of scythes on long poles and cut asunder the ropes which held the sacks. Then the engine again began, without interruption, its work, when behold the Jews suddenly broke forth in three parties. They bore in their hands all the lighted combustibles they could find, they swept every thing before them, and set fire to the engines, the wattles, and the pallisades of the besiegers. The Romans, confounded with this unexpected daring, and blinded by the fire and smoke driving in their faces, made less courageous defence than usual. The timbers of the embankment were all dry, a great quantity of bitumen, pitch, and even sulphur had been used as cement. The conflagration spread with the greatest rapidity, and thus one hour destroyed the labours of many days.

The daring exploit of one man among the Jews, met with universal admiration; he was a Galilean of Saab, named Eleazar, the son of Samaes. With an immense stone from the wall, he took such a steady aim, that he struck off the iron head of the battering ram; he then leaped down from the wall, secured his prize, and was bearing it back to the city. He was unarmed, and all the darts and arrows of the enemy were discharged at him. He was transfixcd by five arrows; still however he pressed on, regained the walls, stood boldly up displaying his trophy, in the sight of all—and then, still clinging to it with convulsive hands, fell down and expired. Two other Galileans, Netiras and Philip of Ruma, greatly distinguished themselves, breaking through the ranks of the tenth legion, and driving in all who opposed them.

Josephus and the rest followed this heroic example, and all the engines and the breast-work of the fifth and of the tenth legions which were driven in, were entirely consumed. Others followed the first rank of the assailants, and heaped the earth over what was destroyed, as fast as they could.

Still, towards the evening, the Romans again set up the ram, and began to batter the wall at the same place. But while Vespasian himself was directing the assault, he was wounded in the heel by a javelin from the wall, slightly indeed, for the javelin was spent; but the greatest alarm spread through the army. Many gave up the attack to crowd around the general, who was bleeding. Titus showed the most affectionate solicitude; but Vespasian, suppressing the pain of his wound, speedily relieved their fears; and, to revenge the hurt of their commander, the whole army rushed on with a loud shout to the walls: all that night the awful conflict lasted. The Jews fell in great numbers; for though the missiles poured around them like hail, they would not abandon the walls, but continued heaving down great stones, and flinging fiery combustibles on the wattles which protected those that worked the ram. They fought at disadvantage, for the light of their own fires made the walls as light as day, and the enemy were thus enabled to take steady aim, while the black engines lay in shadow in the distance, and they could not distinguish when the bolts were about to be discharged. The scorpions and catapults raged more and more fiercely, and swept the walls; the stones from the other engines shattered the pinnacles and the corners of the turrets, which kept falling with a fearful crash. The stones penetrated right through dense masses of men, making as it were a furrow as they passed, and reaching to the rearmost man. Strange stories are reported of the force of these engines—one man was struck on the head, and his skull hurled, as by a sling, to the distance of three stadia, about three furlongs: a pregnant woman was hit in the lower part, and the child cast to the distance of half a stadium. It was a night of unexampled confusion. The clattering of the bolts, the shouts of the army, the heavy fall of the huge stones, the thundering shocks of the

battering ram, were mingled with the frantic shrieks of women, and the screams of children—the whole space about the walls was like a pool of blood; and men could mount the wall upon the bodies of their slaughtered friends. All this deafening din was echoed back and multiplied by the surrounding mountains. Many fell, many more were wounded, but till the morning watch the wall stood firm, it then yielded; still however those, who were well provided with defensive armour, laboured with all their might to form new buttresses and bulwarks, wherever a breach was threatened, before the machines, by which the enemy were to mount the breach, could be advanced.

Towards the morning Vespasian allowed his troops a short time for refreshment. In order to repel the besieged from the breach, he made the bravest of his horsemen dismount, and divided them into three parties. They were completely cased in armour, and had long pikes in their hands, to be ready to charge, instantly that the machines for mounting the breach were fixed. Behind these he stationed the flower of the infantry. The rest of the horse were extended all over the mountains, which encircled the town, that none might make their escape: behind the foot were the archers, the slingers and engineers; and others with scaling ladders, which were to be applied to the part of the walls, which were yet uninjured, to call off the attention of the defenders from the breach. When Josephus discovered this, he selected the old, the infirm, the fatigued, and the wounded to defend those parts of the wall. The bravest he chose to man the breach; six, of whom himself was one, formed the first line. He addressed them in a few words, enjoining them not to be alarmed at the shout of the legionaries; to kneel down and cover their heads with their bucklers, and retreat a little, till the bowmen had exhausted their quivers; when



the Romans had fixed the mounting machines to leap down and fight upon them, remembering that they could now scarcely be thought to fight for safety, for of that they had no hope, but for a brave revenge: finally, to set before their eyes their fathers and children massacred, their wives defiled, and anticipate a just vengeance for these, now inevitable, calamities.

While this was going on, the idle multitude, with the women and children, saw the city still surrounded by triple lines, for the Romans did not withdraw any part of their guards for the approaching conflict—the appalling force standing with their drawn swords before the breach—the whole mountain gleaming with the lances of the cavalry, and the Arabian archers with their bows already levelled—they were seized with universal consternation; one shrill and agonizing shriek ran through the whole city, as if the horrors of the capture were not only dreaded, but actually begun. Josephus, lest they should dispirit his men, ordered all the women to be locked up in the houses, and threatened the rest with exemplary punishment if they raised any disturbance. He then took his post in the breach. At once the trumpets of the legions sounded, and the whole Roman host raised one terrific shout. At that instant the sun was darkened with the clouds of arrows. The Jews closed their ears to the noise, and, shrouded under their bucklers, avoided the arrows. The moment that the mounting engines were fixed, the Jews were upon them before the assailants, fighting hand to hand with the most resolute courage; till at length the Romans, who could continually pour new troops upon them, while the besieged had none to supply their place when weary, formed a solid phalanx, and moving on as one man, drove back the Galileans, and were already within the walls. Still Josephus had a last expedient. He had prepared an immense quantity of

boiling oil, and at a signal, this was poured down, vessels and all, which burst with the heat upon the ascending phalanx. The ranks were broken, and the men rolled down, writhing with agony; for the boiling oil, which kindles easily and cools slowly, trickled within their armour. They had not time to tear off their breastplates and bucklers before it had penetrated to the skin; but they leaped about and writhed with anguish, or plunged headlong from the bridges; or if they attempted to fly, were pierced through their backs, the only part which was without defensive armour. Yet the steady courage of the Romans was not thus to be repelled. However those behind might pity their suffering companions, they still pressed forward, and sternly rebuked them for standing in their way, and for impeding braver men in the performance of their duty. But the Jews had still another stratagem. They poured boiled fenugreek, a kind of herb, upon the planks, on which the enemy were mounting the breach, and made them so slippery, that no one could gain a firm footing, either to ascend or retreat. Some fell on their faces, and were trampled down by those who followed; others rolled back upon the embankment. The Jews struck at them as they lay and grovelled; or, the close combat being thus interrupted, discharged their javelins, and heaped darts and stones upon them. At length, about the evening, the general recalled his worsted men, with considerable loss in killed and wounded. Those of Jotapata lost six killed, and three hundred wounded.

Vespasian found his troops rather exasperated than disheartened by this obstinate resistance; but yet it was necessary to proceed by more slow and cautious approaches. He gave orders that the embankment should be raised considerably; and that fifty towers should be built upon it, strongly girded with iron, both that the weight might make them more firm, and to secure them against fire. In these

he placed his javelin-men, his slingers, and archers, and the lighter engines for the discharge of missiles. These, being concealed by the height and the breast-works of their towers, might take deliberate aim at all who appeared upon the walls. This was a fatal measure to the Jews. The darts and arrows came pouring from above, so that they could not shift and avoid them. They could have no revenge against these invisible foes; for their own arrows could not reach to the height of the towers, and the towers, being solid and compact with iron, could not be set on fire. All they could do was to abandon their walls, and, when any party approached, make a rapid and desperate sally to beat them off. Thus their own loss was considerable—that of the Romans very slight. Still, however, they kept up a manful resistance, and constantly repelled the enemy from the walls.

But now the fall of a neighbouring city was a dreadful omen, and a warning of their own approaching fate, to the defenders of Jotapata. A city called Japha, at no great distance, imboldened by the vigorous defence of Jotapata, closed its gates against the Romans. Vespasian detached Trajan, by some supposed to have been the father of the emperor, with 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse, to reduce the place. The city was strongly situated, and surrounded by a double wall. The men of Japha came boldly forth to meet the enemy; but this hardihood was their ruin. They were repulsed, and chased to the walls. The pursuers and pursued entered pell-mell within the outer gates. Those who defended the inner wall instantly closed their gates, and shut out the flower of their own garrison as well as the enemy. The fugitives, hotly pursued, were cooped up between the two walls, and mowed down with horrible carnage. They rushed to the gates, called upon their fellow citizens by name, and entreated them to open and let them in—but in vain; to admit them was to

admit the conquering enemy. Totally disheartened, not only by the terror of the foe, but by the apparent treachery of their friends, they had no courage to resist; but either stood still to be tamely butchered, reproaching, as it were, those who looked down from the walls with their miserable end—or in desperate frenzy, rushed on each other's swords, or fell upon their own. And so they died, execrating their fellow-citizens rather than the enemy. In the flight and in the suburb 12,000 perished; and those who had thus, either out of panic or miscalculating prudence, betrayed their fellow-citizens, obtained only a brief respite; for Trajan, rightly concluding that the garrison must be greatly enfeebled by this loss, formed the blockade of the city—and with courtier-like reserve, as if he already anticipated the imperial destiny of the Flavian family, sent despatches to Vespasian to request that his son Titus might be detached to complete the victory. Titus speedily arrived with 1,000 foot, and 500 horse. He took the command, and placing Trajan at the head of the left wing, and himself leading the right, gave orders for a general assault. No sooner had the soldiers fixed the scaling-ladders, than the Galileans, after a feeble resistance, abandoned the walls. Titus and his soldiers leaped down into the city, and, the Galileans rallying, a furious conflict ensued; for the citizens blocked up the narrow streets and lanes, and fought desperately, while the women, from the roofs of the houses, hurled down every thing on which they could lay their hands. The battle lasted for six hours, when all who could bear arms were slain; and the rest, old and young—part in the public streets, part in the houses—were indiscriminately put to the sword. The women alone and infants were reserved as slaves: 15,000 were killed, 2,130 taken.

It is remarkable that the Samaritans, who are generally accused by the Jews as disclaiming their

kindred in every period of danger, made common cause in this insurrection. Roman oppression must indeed have weighed heavily, if the indignation it excited could overpower the rooted animosity of Samaritan and Jew, and set them in arms together against the same enemy. The Samaritans had not openly joined the revolt, but stood prepared, with a great force, on the sacred mountain of Gerizim—for most of their strong cities were garrisoned by the Romans. Vespasian determined to anticipate and suppress the insurrectionary spirit which was manifestly brooding in the whole region. Cerealis was sent with 600 horse and 3,000 infantry, who suddenly surrounded the foot of the mountain. It was the height of summer, and the Samaritans, who had laid in no provision, suffered grievously from the want of water: some actually died of thirst; others deserted to the Romans. As soon as Cerealis supposed that they were sufficiently enfeebled, he gradually drew his forces up the side of the mountain, enclosing them in a narrower compass, as in the toils of a skilful hunter. He then sent to them to throw down their arms, and promised a general amnesty. On their refusal, he charged them with irresistible fury, and slew the whole, to the number of 11,600.

And now the end of Jotapata drew near. For forty-seven days its gallant inhabitants had resisted all the discipline and courage of the whole Roman army, under their most skilful general; they had confronted bravery with bravery, and stratagem with stratagem. They were now worn out with watching, and fatigues, and wounds, and thirst. Their ranks were dreadfully thinned, and the over-wearied survivors had to fight all day and watch all night. A deserter found his way to the camp of Vespasian, and gave intelligence of the enfeebled state of the garrison, urging him to make an assault at the early dawn of morning, when the sentinels were apt to be found sleeping on their posts. Vespasian sus-

pected the traitor, for nothing had been more striking during the siege than the fidelity of the Jews to their cause. One man who had been taken had endured the most horrible torments, and, though burnt in many parts of his body, steadily refused to betray the state of the town, till at length he was crucified. Still the story bore marks of probability; and Vespasian, thinking that no stratagem could inflict great injury on his powerful army, prepared for the assault.

A thick morning mist enveloped the whole city, as at the appointed hour the Romans, with silent step, approached the walls. Titus was the first to mount, with Domitius Sabinus, a tribune, and a few soldiers of the fifteenth legion. They killed the sentinels, and stole quietly down into the city. Sextus Cerealis and Placidus followed with their troops. The citadel was surprised: it was broad day, yet the besieged, in the heavy sleep of fatigue, had not discovered that the enemy were within the walls; and even now, those who awoke saw nothing through the dim and blinding mist. But by this time the whole army was within the gates, and they were awakened to a horrible sense of their situation, by the commencement of the slaughter. The Romans remembered what they had suffered during the siege, and it was not a time when mercy and compassion, foreign to their usual character, could arrest the arm of vengeance. They charged furiously down from the citadel, hewing their way through the multitude, who, unable to defend themselves, stumbled and were crushed in the uneven ways; or were suffocated in the narrow lanes, or rolled headlong down the precipices. Nothing was to be seen but slaughter; nothing heard but the shrieks of the dying and the shouts of the conquerors. A few of the most hardy had gathered round Josephus, and mutually exhorted each other to self-destruction. As they could not slay the enemy, they would not be tamely

slain by them. A great number fell by each other's hands. A few of the guard, who had been at first surprised, fled to a tower on the northern part of the wall, and made some resistance. At length they were surrounded, and gave themselves up to be quietly butchered. The Romans might have boasted that they had taken the city without the loss of a man, had not a centurion, named Antonius, been slain by stratagem. There were a great number of deep caverns under the city, in which many took refuge; one of these, being hotly pursued, entreated Antonius to reach his hand to him, as a pledge of accepting his surrender, as well as to help him to clamber out. The incautious Roman stretched out his hand, the Jew instantly pierced him in the groin with a lance, and killed him.

That day all were put to the sword who appeared in the streets or houses; the next, the conquerors set themselves to search the caverns and underground passages, still slaughtering all the men, and sparing none but infants and women: 1200 captives were taken. During the siege and capture 40,000 men fell. Vespasian gave orders that the city should be razed to the ground, and all the defences burnt. Thus fell Jotapata, on the first day of Panemus (July).

But among all the dead the Romans searched in vain for the body of their obstinate and subtle enemy, Josephus. Vespasian himself expressed great anxiety for his capture; but all their search was baffled; and they began to fear that the wily chieftain had, after all, withdrawn himself from their vengeance. During the confusion of the massacre, Josephus had leaped down the shaft of a dry well, from the bottom of which a long cavern led off, entirely concealed from the sight of those above. There Josephus unexpectedly found himself among forty of the most distinguished citizens of Jotapata, who had made this their hiding place, and furnished

it with provisions for several days. He lay hid all the day, while the enemy were prowling about, and at night crept out and endeavoured to find some way of escape from the city; but the Roman guards were too vigilant, and he was obliged to return to his lair. Two days he remained without detection, on the third, a woman who had been with those within the cavern, being captured, betrayed the secret. Vespasian immediately despatched two tribunes, Paulinus and Gallicanus, to induce Josephus, by a promise of his life, to surrender. Josephus, while he lay quiet in his cavern, was suddenly startled by hearing himself called on by name. It was the voice of the tribune, with the message of Vespasian. But Josephus had no great confidence in Roman mercy, and refused to come forth, till Vespasian sent another tribune, Nicanor, with whom he had been well acquainted. Nicanor stood at the mouth of the well, and enlarged on the natural generosity of the Romans, and their admiration of so gallant an enemy; he assured the suspicious Josephus, that Vespasian had no intention against his life, but was anxious to save a man who had displayed such noble self-devotion; and, strongly urged that his delay would be of little use, as they might easily take him by force. He even added, that Vespasian would not have employed the friend of Josephus on such a mission, if he had any secret or treacherous design.

The Roman soldiers would have settled the affair in a much more summary manner: they were, with difficulty, restrained by their commander from throwing fire into the cavern, which would either have suffocated those within, or forced them to make their way out. At this moment Josephus remembered his dream, which had so precisely foretold all the calamities of the Jews, and all which was to happen to the future emperor of Rome. Now, Josephus was an adept in the interpretation of dreams; as a



priest he had deeply studied the prophecies of the Holy Books. He was suddenly, and doubtless, most opportunely, seized with divine inspiration, which inwardly assured him, that it was the will of Heaven that his country should fall, and Rome triumph, and he himself save his life. So, if he passed over to the Roman party, he would do so, not as a renegade, but as an obedient servant of God.

Saying this within himself, he consented to the terms of Nicanor. But, unhappily, a new difficulty occurred. However satisfactory to his own conscience this determination of humbly submitting to the will of God, the companions of Josephus were not religious enough to enter into his motives. They reproached him with the vulgar desire of saving his life, and of cowardly defection from the laws of his country. They reminded him of his own eloquent exhortations to despise death in such a noble cause; exhortations with which so many had generously complied. They intimated somewhat plainly, that they would assist his failing patriotism, and enable him to obtain all the honours of martyrdom; in short, that their hands and swords were ready to enable him to die, not as a renegade, but as the chieftain of the Jews. At the same time they showed their zealous interest in his character by surrounding him with drawn swords, and threatening to put him to death if he stirred. Josephus was in great embarrassment, for he felt that it would be impious resistance to the will of God, if he should thus submit to die. He began (in his own words) to *philosophize* to them. It is not very probable, that at this perilous instant, Josephus should have the self-command to make, or his fierce assailants the patience to listen to, a long set speech; but his oration, as it stands in the history, is so curious, that we must insert the chief topics on which he dwelt. "Why, my friends," he began, "should we be so eager for self-murder? why should we sepa-

rate associates so dear to each other as the soul and body. It is noble to die in war, true; but according to the legitimate usage of war, by the sword of the enemy. If I had supplicated for mercy, I should have deserved to die, but if the Romans freely offer to spare us, why should we not spare ourselves? For what have we been fighting all this time!—to save our lives; and now we are to be such fools as to throw our lives away. It is noble, indeed, to die for our liberty, yes, in battle;—that man is equally a coward who fears to die when death is necessary, and he who chooses to die when there is no necessity. Why do we refuse to surrender? In fear lest the Romans should kill us; and therefore we would kill ourselves. In fear lest we be made slaves? at present, indeed, we enjoy great liberty!” He then entered at large into the commonplace arguments against self-murder; the disgrace of abandoning the helm when the bark is in danger; the natural fondness of all animals for life, and their aversion to death; above all, the sin of throwing away the most precious gift of God. “Our bodies are mortal, and made of perishable matter; but the soul is immortal, as a part of the Divinity it dwells within our bodies. He is base and treacherous who betrays that with which he is intrusted by man, how much more he who basely gives up the precious trust which God has confided to him. We punish slaves, even if they desert the service of a cruel master, yet we have no scruple to desert the service of a good and merciful Deity. Know ye not, that those who depart this life according to the law of nature, and pay the debt when it is demanded by God, obtain everlasting glory? their houses and families prosper; their souls remain pure and obedient, and pass away to the holiest mansions in heaven; from whence, in the revolution of ages, they again take up their dwelling in pure bodies. But for those who have madly lifted their hands against their own

lives, the darkest pit of hell receives their souls, and God avenges their crime upon their children's children. Hence God and our wise lawgiver have enacted a severe punishment against the suicide his body is cast forth at sunset without burial; the guilty hand, which dared to separate the soul from the body, is cut off." (Here Josephus seems to have calculated on the ignorance of his audience and boldly ingrafted a Grecian superstition on the Mosaic law): he concluded with protesting that he had no thought of deserting to the ranks of the Romans, but that he rather looked forward to their putting him to death, in which case he should die gladly, having affixed the stain of the basest treachery on the enemy.\* But, unfortunately, these subtle arguments, these sublime doctrines, and magnanimous sentiments, were lost on the dull ears of the obstinate Galileans; they only became more enraged; they ran at him with their swords; they reproached him with his cowardice, and every one of them stood ready to plunge his sword to his heart. He stood, like a wild beast at bay, constantly turning to the man that was rushing at him; one he called familiarly by his name; another he looked sternly at, as if he were still his commander; here he clasped a hand, there he entreated; at all events determined to save his life, if possible. At length his distress so wrought upon them, that some out of respect, some out of attachment, perhaps some out of contempt, dropped their swords; those of not a few, he says, fell out of their hands, others were quietly returned into their sheaths. The wily leader marked his time, and had a stratagem ready on the instant. "If we must die, then, let us not die by our own, but by each other's hands. Let us cast lots, and thus fall one after another, for if the rest perish, it would be the deepest disgrace for me to survive." They all readily agreed, thinking that Josephus would inevitably share their fate. How

the lots were cast, we are not informed, or whether among his other soldierlike and noble qualities, the worthy commander had some skill in ~~the art of casting~~; but it so happened (by good fortune or the will of Providence) that they all, one after another, as the lots came up, offered their breasts to the sword. Josephus found himself left, with one other, to the last. Not in the least inclined that the lot should fall on himself, and with a nice and scrupulous reluctance to imbrue his hands in the blood of a fellow-creature, Josephus persuaded this man to accept of the offered terms; and so they both came out together, leaving their dead friends in the cavern. Nicanor immediately led him to Vespasian. The Romans crowded from all parts to see this redoubted chieftain. A great rush and uproar ensued. Some were rejoicing at his capture, others threatening him with vengeance; all pressing forward to get a sight of him; those who were at a distance cried out that he should be put to death; those near him were seized with admiration and remembrance of his noble actions. Not one of the officers, who had been most furious against him, but inclined to mercy directly they saw him, particularly Titus, who was struck with his dignified fortitude, and vigour of manhood: he was thirty years old at the beginning of the war. The influence of Titus was of great weight with Vespasian to dispose him to lenity; the prisoner was ordered to be closely guarded, with the design that he might be sent to Nero at Rome.

Josephus instantly demanded to be admitted to a private conference with Vespasian. All, excepting Titus and two friends, retired. Josephus assumed at once the air and language of a prophet: he solemnly protested that nothing would have tempted him to avoid the death which became a noble Jew, but the conviction that he was a messenger of God, to announce to Vespasian that he and his son would speedily assume the imperial dignity: "Send me

not to Nero: bind me, and keep me in chains, as ~~your~~ <sup>your</sup> own prisoner, for soon wilt thou be the sovereign lord of earth and sea, and of the whole human race." Vespasian naturally mistrusted the adroit flatterer; but, before long, permitted himself to be fully persuaded of his prophetic character. Josephus appealed to the inhabitants of Jotapata, whether he had not predicted the taking of the city, and their own capture at the end of forty-seven days. The captives, who could only have been women, as all the men were put to the sword, readily avouched his story: and the prophet, though still kept in chains, was treated with great distinction, and received presents of raiment and other valuable donatives.

This is a strange adventure. It is impossible not to admire the dexterity with which the historian extricates himself from all his difficulties of situation, which, however highly coloured, must have been one of the greatest peril. What secrets that dark cavern may have concealed, can never be known; but we should certainly have read with deep interest the account of these transactions, and indeed of the whole Galilean administration of Josephus, in the work of his rival, Justus of Tiberias, unhappily lost. But, after every deduction for his love of the marvellous, and the natural inclination to paint highly where he was the hero of his own story, the valour and skill displayed in the defence of Jotapata, and the singular address with which he insinuated himself into the favour of Vespasian and his son, give a very high impression of the abilities of Josephus. As to the sincerity of his belief in his own inspiration, it would more easily have obtained credit, if he had displayed himself, on other occasions, either more scrupulous or less addicted to stratagem. The prediction itself was far from requiring any great degree of political sagacity. It was impossible to suppose that the

bloody Nero would be allowed to burden the throne much longer; the imperial family was all but extinct. The empire would, in all probability, fall to the lot of the boldest and most ambitious of the great military leaders, among whom Vespasian stood, if not confessedly the first, yet certainly with few competitors, in the first rank. It was therefore no very bold hazard to designate him as the future sovereign: at all events, and perhaps Josephus looked no further, the prediction served his immediate turn; and, if it had not eventually proved true, yet the life of the prophet was secure, and his history, if ever written, might have preserved a prudent silence with regard to a prediction which the event had not justified.

The progress of this year's campaign was not according to the usual career of the Roman arms: a powerful army had marched to subdue a rebellious and insignificant province; two months had nearly elapsed, and they were little beyond the frontier. Now, however, they proceeded with greater rapidity. Vespasian returned to Ptolemais, from whence he marched along the coast to Cæsarea. The Greek inhabitants of that city had now, by the massacre of their Jewish competitors, the whole region at their command. They threw open their gates, went forth to receive the Romans with the loudest and most sincere demonstrations of joy; for their vengeance was not yet satiated with Jewish blood. They sent a petition for the execution of Josephus; but Vespasian did not condescend to reply. He took possession of Cæsarea, as pleasant winter-quarters, for two of his legions; for though very hot in summer, the climate of Cæsarea was genial in winter: he fixed on Scythopolis for the station of the other legion, the fifteenth.

Cestius Gallus, during his flight, had abandoned Joppa. A strong body of insurgents had collected from all quarters, and taken possession of the town,

where they had built a great number of barks, with which they made piratical excursions, and plundered all the rich merchant vessels which traded between Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Vespasian sent a considerable force against this city. The troops reached Joppa by night; and, the walls being unguarded, entered at once. The inhabitants made no resistance, but fled to their ships, and moored for the night out of the reach of the enemies' darts and arrows. Joppa is a bad harbour: the shore is steep and rugged, forming a kind of semicircular bay, the extreme headlands of which approach each other. These headlands are formed by precipitous rocks and breakers, which extend far into the sea: when the north-wind blows, there is a tremendous surge, which makes the port more dangerous than the open sea. In the morning this wind, called by the sailors of Joppa the black north-wind, began to blow furiously: it dashed the ships against each other, or against the rocks. Some endeavoured to push to sea against the swell; for they dreaded alike the lee-shore breakers and the enemy: but all these, unable to stem the rolling of the swell, foundered. The rest the wind drove towards the city, which the Romans would not let them enter. The shrieks of the men, the crashing of the vessels, made an awful din: many were drowned; many were seen swimming on broken pieces of wreck; many, to escape drowning, fell on their own swords. The whole shore was strown with mutilated bodies; those who struggled to the beach were slain by the Romans: 4200 lives were lost. The Romans razed the city, but garrisoned the citadel, lest it should again become a nest of pirates.

At first vague rumours of the fall of Jotapata reached Jerusalem: not a man had escaped to bear the fatal intelligence. But bad tidings are apt to travel fast; and, as is usual, when the truth became

known, it was accompanied with many circumstances of falsehood. Josephus was said to have fallen; and all Jerusalem united in lamenting his loss: his death was a public calamity. There was scarcely a family which had not to deplore some private affliction; they bewailed those who had been their guests (probably at the great festivals), or relations, or friends, or brothers; but all deplored Josephus. For thirty days, wailings were heard in the city; and musicians were hired to perform funeral chants. When, however, the news arrived that Josephus was not merely alive, but treated with distinction by Vespasian, sorrow gave place to the fiercest indignation. By some he was called a dastard, by others a traitor; his name was execrated; and to their motives for fierce and obstinate resistance to the Romans was added an eager desire to revenge themselves on the apostate. But they were yet left for some time to exhale their fury in words, and display their bravery, not against the enemy, but against each other.

Vespasian—whether his army had been too severely handled at Jotapata, or whether, as is possible, he wished, in case any effort should be made at Rome to rid the world of the tyrant, to find himself at the head of a powerful and unbroken force—turned aside from the direct road of victory, and declined to advance upon the rebellious capital. He accepted the invitation of Agrippa, who earnestly solicited his presence, in order that he might make a splendid display of his devotion to the Roman cause, and, by the fear of the Roman arms, quell the spirit of revolt in his own dominions. From Cæsarea by the Sea, he passed to Cæsarea Philippi, where the army reposed for twenty days. Tarichea and Tiberias, though on the western coast of the Lake of Genesareth, belonged to the dominions of Agrippa. Evident symptoms of insurrection appeared in both these cities. Titus was ordered to



concentrate all the forces on Scythopolis, which is at no great distance from Tiberias : there Vespasian met him ; and they advanced to a place on an eminence, within half a mile of Tiberias, named Sennabris. From thence he sent forward a decurion, named Valerian, with fifty horse, to exhort the inhabitants to surrender ; for the people were peaceably disposed, but forced into war by a small turbulent party. Valerian, when he came near the city, dismounted, that his troop might not appear like a body of skirmishers ; but before he could utter a word, the insurgents, headed by Jesus, the son of Saphat, charged him with great fury. Valerian, though he might easily have dispersed them, had no orders to fight ; and, astonished at the boldness of the Jews, fled on foot, with five of his companions. The captured horses were led in triumph into the city. The Senate of Tiberias took the alarm, and fled to the Roman camp : they entreated Vespasian not to act precipitately against a city almost entirely disposed to the Roman interest, and not to visit the crime of a few desperate insurgents on the unoffending people. Vespasian had given orders for the plunder of the city ; but partly in compliance with their supplication, partly from respect for Agrippa, who trembled for the fate of one of the fairest towns in his dominions, he accepted their submission. The insurgents, under Jesus, fled to Tarichea. The people opened their gates, and received the Romans with acclamations. As the entrance to the city was too narrow for the army to march in, except in very slender files, Vespasian commanded part of the wall to be thrown down ; but he strictly prohibited all plunder or outrage against the inhabitants ; and, at the intervention of Agrippa, left the rest of the wall standing.

Not only the insurgents from Tiberias, but from all the adjacent country, assembled in Tarichea, which likewise stood, south of Tiberias, on the shore

of Genesareth. This beautiful lake has been compared by travellers with that of Geneva. In those days the shores were crowded with opulent towns, which lay imbowered in the most luxuriant orchards, for which the whole district was celebrated. Such was the temperature of the climate that every kind of fruit-tree flourished in the highest perfection—nuts, which usually grow in a colder climate, with the palm of the sultry desert, and the fig and olive, which require a milder air. "Nature," says Josephus, "is, as it were, ambitious of bringing together the fruits of different climates, and there is a strife among the seasons of the year, each claiming this favoured country as their own: for not only do fruits of every species flourish, but continue to ripen; the grapes and figs for ten months, other kinds throughout the year. The water of the lake is remarkably salubrious, milder than that of fountains, and as cool as snow. It abounds in fish of several kinds, peculiar to its waters." This lake had been the chief scene of the miracles and preaching of Jesus Christ. Its blue and quiet waters were now to be broken by other barks than those of the humble fishermen who spread their nets upon its surface; and to reflect, instead of the multitudes who listened to the peaceful teacher, the armour of embattled squadrons and the glittering pride of the Roman eagles. Tarichea had been carefully fortified by Josephus; not indeed so strongly as the more important town of Tiberias, but still every part that was not washed by the lake had been surrounded with a strong wall. The inhabitants had a great number of vessels in their port, in which they might escape to the opposite shore, or, if necessary, fight for the naval command of the lake. The Romans pitched their camp under the walls; but while they were commencing their works, Jesus, at the head of the Tiberians, made a vigorous sally, dispersed the workmen, and when

the legionaries advanced in steady array, fled back without loss. The Romans drove a large party to their barks: the fugitives pushed out into the lake, but still remained within the range of missiles, cast anchor, and drawing up their barks, like a phalanx, began a regular battle with the enemy on the land.

Vespasian heard that the Galileans were in great force on the plain before the city. He sent Titus with 600 picked horse to disperse them. The numbers were so immense that Titus sent to demand further succours; but before they arrived, he determined to charge the enemy. He addressed his men, exhorting them not to be dismayed by numbers, but to secure the victory before their fellow soldiers could come up to share their glory. He then put himself at their head, and his men were rather indignant than joyful at beholding Trajan, at the head of 400 horse, make his appearance in the field. Vespasian had likewise sent Antonius Silas with 2000 archers to occupy the side of a hill opposite to the city, in order to divert those who were on the walls. Titus led the attack, the Jews made some resistance, but, overpowered by the long spears and the weight of the charging cavalry, gave way, and fled in disorder towards Tarichea. The cavalry pursued, making dreadful havock, and endeavoured to cut them off from the city. The fugitives made their way through by the mere weight of numbers. When they entered the city, a tremendous dissension arose. The inhabitants, anxious to preserve their property, and dismayed by their defeat, urged capitulation. The strangers steadily and fiercely refused compliance. The noise of the dissension reached the assailants, and Titus immediately cried out, "now is the time for a resolute attack, while they are distracted by civil discord." He leaped upon his horse, dashed into the lake, and, followed by his men, entered the city. Consternation seized the besieged, they stood still,

not attempting resistance. Jesus and his insurgents at the alarm fled with others towards the lake, and came right upon the Romans. They were killed endeavouring to reach the shore; the inhabitants without resistance; the strangers fighting gallantly, for the former still cherished a hope that their well-known peaceful disposition might obtain them mercy. At length Titus having punished the ring-leaders, gave orders that the carnage should cease. Those who had before fled to the lake, when they saw the city taken, pushed out to sea as far as possible. Titus sent information to his father of this signal victory, and gave orders that vessels might instantly be prepared to pursue the fugitives. When the vessels were ready, Vespasian embarked some of his troops, and rowed into the centre of the lake. The poor Galileans in their light fishing boats could not withstand the heavy barks of the Romans; but they rowed round them, and attacked them with stones—feeble warfare, which only irritated the pursuers! for if thrown from a distance they did no damage, only splashing the water over the soldiers or falling harmless from their iron cuirasses; if those who threw them approached nearer, they could be hit in their turn by the Roman arrows. All the shores were occupied with hostile soldiers, and they were pursued into every inlet and creek, some were transfixed with spears from the high banks of the vessels, some were boarded and put to the sword, the boats of others were crushed or swamped, and the people drowned. If their heads rose as they were swimming, they were hit with an arrow, or by the prow of the bark; if they clung to the side of the enemy's vessel, their hands and heads were hewn off. The few survivors were driven to the shore, where they met with no more mercy. Either before they landed, or in the act of landing, they were cut down or pierced through. The blue waters of the whole lake were tinged with blood,

and its clear surface exhaled for several days a fetid stream. The shores were strown with wrecks of boats and swollen bodies that lay rotting in the sun, and infected the air, till the conquerors themselves shrunk from the effects of their own barbarities. Here we must add to our bloody catalogue the loss of 6000 lives.

These, however, were the acts of an exasperated soldiery against enemies with arms in their hands. But Vespasian tarnished his fame for ever, by an act at once of the most loathsome cruelty and deliberate treachery. After the battle, his tribunal was erected in Tarichea, and he sat in solemn judgment on those of the strangers who had been taken captives; and had been separated from the inhabitants of the city. According to his apologist, Josephus, his friends encircled the seat of justice, and urged the necessity of putting an end to these desperate vagabonds, who, having no home, would only retreat to other cities, forcing them to take up arms. Vespasian, having made up his sanguinary resolution, was unwilling to terrify the inhabitants of Tarichea by commanding the massacre in their streets; he feared that it might excite insurrection: nor did he wish the whole city to be witness of his open violation of that faith which had been pledged when they surrendered. But his friends urged that every act was lawful against the Jews, and that right must give way to the expediency. The insurgents received an ambiguous assurance of amnesty, but were ordered to retreat from the city only by the road to Tiberias. The poor wretches had implicit reliance on Roman faith. The soldiers immediately seized and blockaded the road to Tiberias; not one was allowed to leave the suburbs. Vespasian in person pursued them into the stadium; he ordered 1,200 of the aged and helpless to be instantly slain, and drafted off 6,000 of the most able-bodied to be sent to Nero, who was employed in a mad scheme

of digging through the Isthmus of Corinth: 30,400 were sold as slaves, besides those whom he bestowed on Agrippa, who sold his portion also. The greater part of these, if we may believe Josephus, were desperate and ferocious ruffians, from Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Gadara, and Hippos, men who sought to stir up war, that they might escape the punishment of the crimes they had committed during peace. Had they been devils, it could not excuse the base treachery of Vespasian.

This terrible example appalled the whole of Galilee, and most of the towns capitulated at once to avoid the same barbarities; three cities alone still defied the conqueror, Gamala, Gischala, and Itabyrium, the city which Josephus had fortified on Mount Tabor. Though the inhabitants of Gamala, situated on the side of the lake of Genesareth, opposite to Tarichea, at no great distance from the shore, might have inhaled the tainted gales, which brought across the waters the noisome and pestilential odours of the late massacre, though probably some single fugitive may have escaped, and hastening to the only city of refuge, have related the dreadful particulars of those still more revolting deeds which had been perpetrated in the stadium of Tarichea; yet Gamala, proud in the impregnable strength of its situation, peremptorily refused submission. Gamala was the chief city of Lower Gaulonitis, and belonged to the government of Agrippa. It was even more inaccessible than Jotapata. It stood on a long and rugged ledge of mountains, which sloped downward at each end, and rose in the middle into a sudden ridge, like the hump of a camel, from which the town had its name of Gamala. The face and both sides of the rock ended in deep and precipitous chasms or ravines; it was only accessible from behind, where it joined the mountain ridge. On this side a deep ditch had been dug right across, so as to cut off all approach. The houses rose one above another on

the steep declivity of the hill, and were crowded very thick and close. The whole city seemed as if hanging on a sharp precipice, and threatening constantly to fall and crush itself. It inclined to the south, but on the southern crag, of immense height, was the citadel of the town, and above this was a precipice without a wall, which broke off sheer and abrupt, and sank into a ravine of incalculable depth. There was a copious fountain within the walls. This impregnable city, Josephus had still further strengthened by trenches and water-courses. The garrison was neither so numerous nor so brave as that of Jotapata, but still confident in the unassailable position of their city. It was crowded with fugitives from all parts, and had already for seven months defied a besieging force, which Agrippa had sent against it. Vespasian marched to Emmaus, celebrated for its warm baths, and then appeared before Gamala. It was impossible to blockade the whole circuit of a city so situated. But he took possession of all the neighbouring heights, particularly of the mountain which commanded the town. He then took up a position behind and to the east of the city, where there was a lofty tower. There the fifteenth legion had their quarters, the fifth threw up works opposite to the centre of the city, the tenth was employed in filling up the ditches and ravines. Agrippa ventured to approach the walls to persuade the inhabitants to capitulation. He was struck by a stone from a sling, on the right elbow, and carried off with all speed by his followers. This insult to the native king exasperated the Roman soldiery. The embankments were raised with great expedition by the skilful and practised soldiers. Directly they were ready, the engines were advanced. Chares and Joseph commanded in the city; they had some misgivings of the event, for they were but scantily supplied with provisions and water, still, however, they manned the wall boldly, and for some

time vigorously resisted the engineers, who were fixing the machines; but, at length, beat off by the catapults and other engines for throwing stones, they drew back into the city. The Romans immediately advanced the battering-rams in three places, and beat down the wall. They rushed in through the breaches, and broke into the city amid the clang of their trumpets, the clashing of their arms, and the shouting of their men.

The Jews thronged the narrow streets, and bravely resisted the advance of the assailants. At length, overpowered by numbers, who attacked them on all sides, they were forced up to the steep part of the city. There they turned, and, charging the enemy with great fury, drove them down the declivities, and made great havock among them as they endeavoured to make their way up the narrow streets, and along the rugged and craggy paths. The Romans, who could not repel their enemy, thus hanging as it were over their heads, not yet break through the throngs of their own men, who forced them on from beneath, took refuge in the houses of the citizens, which were very low. The crowded houses could not bear the weight, and came crashing down. One, as it fell, beat down another, and so all the way down the hill. The situation of the Romans was tremendous. As they felt the houses sinking, they leaped on the roofs, and fell with the tumbling buildings. Many were totally buried in the ruins; many caught by some part of their bodies, as in a trap; many were suffocated with the dust and rubbish. The Gamalites beheld the hand of God in this unexpected calamity of the foe. They rushed on, regardless of their own lives; struck at the enemy on the roofs, or as they were slipping about in the narrow ways, and, aiming steadily from above, slew every one who fell. The ruins furnished them with stones, and the slain of the enemy with weapons. They drew the swords of the dead



to plunge into the hearts of the dying. Many of the Romans who had fallen from the houses killed themselves. Flight was impossible from their ignorance of the ways and the blinding dust: many slew each other by mistake, and fell among their own men. Those who could find the road retreated from the city. Vespasian himself, who had shared in the labours of his men, was deeply afflicted to see the city rolling down in ruins upon the heads of his soldiers. Neglectful of his own safety, he had ascended by degrees, without perceiving it, to the upper part of the city. He found himself in the thick of the danger, with but few followers, for Titus was absent on a mission to the Prefect of Syria. It was neither safe nor honourable to fly. With the readiness of an old and experienced soldier, he called to those who were with him to lock their shields over their heads in the form of a testudo. The storm of darts and of the falling ruins crashed about them without doing them any injury. They persevered. The Gamalites, according to Josephus, who now loses no opportunity of flattering his protector, thinking their presence of mind little less than divine, relaxed the fury of their attack. The troop retreated with their faces to the enemy, and did not turn till they were safe beyond the walls. The loss of the Romans was great. The brave centurion, Æbutius, was particularly lamented. A decemvir, named Gallus, with ten men, in the tumult crept into a house and concealed himself there. The good citizens, at supper, sat quietly conversing on the exploits of the day; Gallus, who was a Syrian, understood every word they said. At night he broke out, cut all their throats, and came safe off to the Roman camp.

The soldiers were dispirited with their defeat, and with the shame of having left their general in so perilous a situation. Vespasian addressed them in language of approbation and encouragement; he

attributed their recent repulse to accident, and to their own too impetuous ardour, which had led them to fight with the frantic fury of their antagonists, rather than the steady and disciplined courage of Roman legionaries. The Gamalites, in the meantime, were full of exultation at their unexpected success. But before long, pride gave way to melancholy foreboding, for their provisions began to fail. Their spirits sank, for now they had no hope of being admitted to capitulation. Yet they did not entirely lose their courage and activity. They repaired the shattered walls, and strictly guarded the parts that were still unshaken. When at length the Romans had completed their works, and threatened a second assault, many fled through the sewers, and passages which led into the ravines, where no guard was stationed. The rest of the inhabitants wasted away with hunger in silence; for the scanty provision that remained was kept for the use of the garrison alone.

In the meantime Itabyrium had fallen. This town had been strongly fortified by Josephus. The ascent to the hill of Tabor is on the north, but extremely difficult.\* The level area on the top, three miles and a quarter in circuit, occupied by the troops, was surrounded in forty days by a strong wall. The lower part of the hill had copious fountains, but the town depended on the cisterns of rain water. Against this city Placidus was sent with 600 horse. The hill seemed absolutely inaccessible. But the garrison, endeavouring to out-general the Roman commander, were themselves caught by their own stratagem. Each party pretended a desire to come to terms. Placidus used mild language; and the

\* The height of this mountain, according to the numbers as they stand in Josephus, would be three miles and three quarters. Maundrell ascended it in an hour. The circumference of the town three miles and a quarter. Yet Maundrell states the area on the top to be only two furlongs in length, and one broad. Three miles and a quarter of wall and trench, built in forty days, seems rather beyond credibility.

Itabyrians descended the hill as if to treat, but with a secret design of assailing the Romans unawares. At this unexpected assault Placidus feigned flight, to lure them into the plain. They pursued boldly, when he suddenly wheeled round, routed them with dreadful slaughter, and cut off their retreat to the mountain. Those who escaped fled to Jerusalem. The inhabitants of Itabyrium, distressed for want of water, surrendered.

In the mean time, the garrison of Gamala still made a vigorous resistance, while the people pined away with hunger. At length, two soldiers of the fifteenth legion contrived by night to creep under one of the highest towers, where they began to undermine the foundations. By the morning watch they had got, unperceived, quite under it. They then struck away five of the largest stones, and ran for their lives. The tower came down, guards and all, with a tremendous crash. The rest of the sentinels on the wall fled on all sides. Some were killed as they ran out of the city, among them Joseph, one of the valiant defenders. The whole city was in confusion, men running up and down, with no one to take the command; for the other leader, Chares, lay in the last paroxysm of a fever, and, in the agitation of the alarm, expired.

But all that day, the Romans, rendered cautious by their former repulse, made no attempt. Titus had now returned to the camp, and eager to revenge the insult on the Roman arms, with two hundred horse and a number of foot entered quietly into the city. As soon as the Galilean guards perceived him they rushed to arms. Some catching up their children, and dragging their wives along, ran to the citadel, shrieking and crying; others, who encountered Titus, were slain without mercy. Those who could not make their escape to the citadel rushed blindly on the Roman guard. The steep streets ran with torrents of blood. Vespasian led his men imme-

diately against the citadel. The rock on which it stood was rugged and impracticable, of enormous height, and surrounded on all sides by abrupt precipices. The Jews stood upon this crag, the top of which the Roman darts could not reach, striking down all their assailants, and rolling stones and throwing darts upon their heads. But a tremendous tempest completed their ruin. They could not stand on the points of the rock, nor see the enemy as he scaled the crag. The Romans reached the top, and surrounded the whole party. The memory of their former defeat rankled in their hearts. They slew as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. Numbers threw themselves headlong, with their wives and children, down the precipices. Their despair was more fatal than the Roman sword. 4000 were killed by the enemy; 5000 bodies were found of those who had cast themselves from the rock. Two women alone escaped, the sisters of Philip, Agrippa's general, and they only by concealing themselves, for the Romans spared neither age nor sex; they seized infants and flung them down from the rock. Thus fell Gamala on the 23d of September.

Gischala alone remained in arms. The inhabitants of this town were an agricultural people, and little inclined to war. But the subtle and ambitious John, the son of Levi, the rival of Josephus, commanded a strong faction in the city, headed by his own desperate banditti. The town, therefore, notwithstanding the desire of the people to capitulate, assumed a warlike attitude. Vespasian sent Titus against it with 1000 horse. The tenth legion moved to Scythopolis, he himself with the other two went into winter-quarters at Cæsarea. When he arrived before Gischala, Titus perceived that he might easily take the city by assault. But desirous of avoiding unnecessary bloodshed; and probably well acquainted with the disposition of the people, he sent to

offer terms of capitulation. The walls were manned by the faction of John; not one of the people was allowed to approach them, while the summons of Titus was proclaimed. John answered with the greatest temper and moderation, that the garrison accepted with the utmost readiness the generous terms that had been offered; but that the day being the Sabbath, nothing could be concluded without a direct infringement of the law. Titus not merely considered this delay, but withdrew his troops to the neighbouring town of Cydoessa.

At midnight, John, perceiving that no Roman guard was mounted, stole quietly with all his armed men out of the city, followed by many others, with their families, who had determined on flying to Jerusalem. To the distance of twenty stadia, about two miles and a half, the women and children bore on steadily, their strength then began to fail. They dropped off by degrees, while the men pressed rapidly on without regarding them. They sat down, wailing by the way side; and the more faint and distant seemed the footsteps of their departing friends, the more near and audible they thought the hurried trampling of the enemy. Some ran against each other, each supposing the other the foe; some lost their way; many were trampled down by other fugitives. Those who kept up longest, as they began to fail, stood calling on the names of their friends and relations; but in vain. The unfeeling John urged his men to save themselves, and make their escape to some place where they might have their revenge on the Romans. When Titus appeared the next day before the gates, the people threw them open, and with their wives and children received him as their deliverer. He sent a troop of horse in pursuit of John. They slew 6000 of the fugitives, and brought back 3000 women and children to the city. Titus entered Gischala amid the acclamations of the people; and conducted himself with

great lenity, only threatening the city in case of future disturbance, throwing down part of the wall, and leaving a garrison to preserve the peace. Gischala was the last city in Galilee which offered any resistance; and the campaign ended soon after, when Vespasian, having made an expedition against Jamnia and Azotus, which both surrendered, and admitted Roman garrisons, returned to Cæsarea, followed by a vast multitude from all quarters, who preferred instant submission to the Romans to the perils of war.

But, while the cities of Galilee thus arrested the course of the Roman eagles—while Jotapata and Gamala set the example of daring and obstinate resistance—the leaders of the nation in Jerusalem, instead of sending out armies to the relief of the besieged cities, or making an effort in their favour, were engaged in the most dreadful civil conflicts, and were enfeebling the national strength by the most furious collision of factions. It must be allowed that the raw and ill-armed militia of Judæa, if it had been animated with the best and most united spirit, could scarcely have hoped to make head in the open field against the experience and discipline of the Roman legions. Their want of cavalry perhaps prevented their undertaking any distant expedition, so that it may be doubted whether it was not their wisest policy to fight only behind their walls, in hopes that siege after siege might weary the patience, and exhaust the strength, of the invading army. But Jerusalem was ill-preparing itself to assume the part which became the metropolis of the nation, in this slow contest; and better had it been for her if John of Gischala had perished in the trenches of his native town, or been cut off in his flight by the pursuing cavalry. His fame had gone before him to Jerusalem, perhaps not a little enhanced by the defection of his rival Josephus. The multitude poured out to meet him, as well to do him

honour as to receive authentic tidings of the disasters in Galilee. The heat and the broken breathing of his men, showed that they had ridden fast and long; yet they assumed a lofty demeanour, declared that they had not fled, but retreated to maintain a better position for defence; that for Gischala and such insignificant villages it was not worth risking the blood of brave men—they had reserved all theirs to be shed in the defence of the capital. Yet to many their retreat was too manifestly a flight, and from the dreadful details of massacre and captivity they foreboded the fate which awaited themselves. John, however, represented the Roman force as greatly enfeebled, and their engines worn out before Jotapata and Gamala; and urged, that if they were so long in subduing the towns of Galilee, they would inevitably be repulsed with shame from Jerusalem. John was a man of the most insinuating address, and the most plausible and fluent eloquence. The young men listened with eager interest and vehement acclamation; the old sat silent, brooding over their future calamities. The metropolis now began to be divided into two hostile factions; but the whole province had before set them the fatal example of discord. Every city was torn to pieces by civil animosities; wherever the insurgents had time to breathe from the assaults of the Romans, they turned their swords against each other. The war and the peace faction, not only distracted the public councils, but in every family, among the dearest and most intimate friends, this vital question created stern and bloody divisions. Every one assembled a band of adherents, or joined himself to some organized faction. As in the metropolis, the youth were every where unanimous in their ardour for war; the older in vain endeavoured to allay the phrensy by calmer and more prudent reasoning. First individuals, afterward bands of desperate men, began to spread over the whole country, spoiling

either by open robbery, or under pretence of chastising those who were traitors to the cause of their country. The unoffending and peaceful, who saw their houses burning, and their families plundered, thought they could have nothing worse to apprehend from the conquest of the Romans, than from the lawless violence of their own countrymen. The Roman garrisons in the neighbouring towns, either not considering it their business to interfere, or rejoicing, in their hatred to the whole race, to behold their self-inflicted calamities, afforded little or no protection to the sufferers. At length an immense number of these daring ruffians, satiated with plunder, by degrees, and in secret, stole into Jerusalem, where they formed a great and formidable troop. The city had never been accustomed to exclude strangers from its walls—it was the national metropolis; and all of Jewish blood had a right to take up their temporary or permanent residence in the Holy City. They thought too that all who entered their gates would strengthen their power of resistance, and that it would be impolitic to reject any who came to offer their lives for the defence of the capital. But even had they not brought sedition and discord in their train, this influx of strangers would rather have weakened than strengthened the defence of Jerusalem; for the provisions, which ought to have been reserved for the soldiers, were consumed by an inactive and useless multitude, and famine was almost immediately added to the other evils which enfeebled and distracted the city.

These men, of fierce and reckless dispositions, and already inured to marauding habits, though gathering from all quarters, soon began to understand each other, and grew into a daring and organized faction. They began to exercise their old calling; robberies, and burglaries, and assassinations took place every day, not secretly or by night, or of the meaner people, but openly in the face of day, of the



most distinguished characters in Jerusalem. The first victim was Antipas, a man of royal blood, and a citizen of such high character, as to be intrusted with the charge of the public treasury. They seized and dragged him to prison. The next were Leviás, and Saphias, the son of Raguel, both of the Herodian family, with many others of the same class. The people looked on in dismay, but, so long as their own houses and persons were safe, they abstained from interference.

Having gone so far in their daring course, the robbers did not think it safe not to proceed farther. They dreaded the families of those whom they had imprisoned, for they were both numerous and powerful; they even apprehended a general insurrection of the people. They sent a ruffian named John, the son of Dorcas, a man ready for the worst atrocities, with ten others like him, and, under their warrant, a general massacre of the prisoners took place. The ostensible pretext of this barbarity was, the detection of a conspiracy to betray the city to the Romans. They gloried in this act, and assumed the title of Saviours and Deliverers of their country, for having thus executed condign vengeance on those who were traitors to the common liberty.

The people still cowered beneath the sway of these Zealot robbers. Their next step was even more daring. They took upon themselves the appointment to the Chief Priesthood—that is, probably, to nominate the members of the Sanhedrin. They annulled at once all claim from family descent, and appointed men unknown, and of ignoble rank, who would support them in their violence. Those whom they had raised by their breath, their breath could degrade. Thus all the leaders of the people were the slaves and puppets of their will. They undermined the authority of some who were before at the head of affairs, by propagating false rumours, and by ascribing to them fictitious speeches—so that

by their dissensions among each other, they might increase the power of the zealots, thus united for evil. At length, satiated with their crimes against men, they began to invade the sanctuary of God with their unhallowed violence.

After some time, the populace were at last goaded to resistance. Ananias, the oldest of the Chief-priests, had been long the recognised head of the other party. He was a man of great wisdom, and in the opinion of Josephus, had he not been cut off by untimely death, might have saved the city. At his incitement, murmurs and threats of resistance spread among the people, and the robber Zealots immediately took refuge in the temple of God, which they made their garrison and head-quarters. They pretended to proceed, according to a mockery of law, which was more galling to the popular feeling than their licentious violence. They declared that the High priest ought to be appointed by lot, not according to family descent. They asserted that this was an ancient usage; but, in fact, it was a total abrogation of the customary law, and solely intended to wrest the supreme power into their own hands. Matthias, the son of Theophilus, was the rightful High priest; but the Zealots assembled, for this purpose, one family of the priestly race, that of Eniachim, and from this choice a High priest by lot. It happened that the choice fell on one Phanas, the son of Samuel, a man not merely unworthy of that high function, but a coarse clown, who had lived in the country, and was totally ignorant even of the common details of his office. They sent for him however, decked him up in the priestly robes, and brought him forth as if upon the stage. His awkwardness caused them the greatest merriment and laughter; while the more religious priests stood aloof, weeping in bitter but vain indignation at this profanation of the holy office.

The people could endure every thing but this

They rose as one man, to revenge the injured dignity of the sacred ceremonies. Joseph, the son of Gorion, and Simon, the son of Gamaliel, went about, both in private and public, haranguing the multitude, and exhorting them to throw off the yoke of these desperate ruffians, and to cleanse the holy place from the contamination of their presence. The most eminent of the priestly order, Jesus, son of Gamala, and Ananus, remonstrated with the people for their quiet submission to the Zealots, which had now become a name of opprobrium and detestation.

A general assembly was summoned. All were indignant at the robberies, the murders and sacrileges of the Zealots, but still they apprehended their numbers and the strength of their position. But Ananus came forward and addressed them; and as he spoke, he continually turned his eyes, full of tears, towards the violated temple. He reproached them with their tame endurance of a tyranny, more cruel than that of the Romans; and their abandonment of the temple of their God to profane and lawless men. His long and animated harangue was heard with the deepest interest, and the people demanded, with loud outcries, to be immediately led to battle. The Zealots had their partisans in the assembly, and speedily received intelligence of what was going on. While Ananus was organizing his force, they began the attack. But Ananus was not less active, and though the people were inferior in discipline, unused to act together in bodies, and inexperienced in the management of their arms, yet they had vast superiority in numbers. Thus a fierce civil war broke out in a city, against whose gates a mighty enemy was preparing to lead his forces. Both parties fought with furious valour; many were slain; the bodies of the people were carried off into their houses; those of the Zealots into the temple, dropping blood, as they were hurried along, upon the sacred pavement. The robbers

had always the best in a regular conflict, but the people at length increasing in numbers, those that pressed behind prevented those in front from retreating, and urged forward in a dense and irresistible mass, till the Zealots were forced back into the temple, into which Ananus and his men broke with them. The first quadrangle, that of the Gentiles, being thus taken, the Zealots fled into the next, and closed the gates. The religious scruples of Ananus prevented him from pressing his advantage; he trembled to commit violence against the sacred gates, or to introduce the people, unclean and not yet purified from slaughter, into the inner Court of the temple. He stationed 6000 chosen and well-armed men in the cloisters, and made arrangements that this guard should be regularly relieved.

In this state of affairs, the subtle and ambitious John of Gischala, who had not long arrived in Jerusalem, pursued his own dark course. Outwardly he joined the party of Ananus; no one could be more active in the consultations of the leaders, or in the nightly inspection of the guards. But he kept up a secret correspondence with the Zealots, and betrayed to them all the movements of the assailants. To conceal this secret he redoubled his assiduities, and became so extravagant in his protestations of fidelity to Ananus and his party, that he completely overacted his part, and incurred suspicion. The people could not but observe that their closest consultations were betrayed to the enemy, and they began gradually to look with a jealous eye on their too obsequious servant. Yet it was no easy task to remove him; he was much too subtle to be detected, and had a formidable band of adherents, by no means of the lowest order, in the council itself. The people acted in the most unwise manner possible. They betrayed their suspicions of John, by exacting from him an oath of fidelity. John swore readily to all they demanded,

that he would remain obedient to the people, never betray their councils, and entirely devote both his courage and abilities to the destruction of their enemies. Ananus and his party laid aside their mistrust, admitted him to their most secret councils, and even deputed him to treat with the Zealots. John undertook the mission, and proceeded into the Court of the temple. There he suddenly threw off his character, began to address the Zealots as if he had been their ambassador, rather than that of the people. He represented the dangers he had incurred in rendering them secret service, informed them that negotiations were going on for the surrender of the city to the Romans, that their ruin was resolved, for Ananus had determined either to enter the temple by fair means, under the pretext of worship, and with that view had purified the people; or by main force; they must either submit, or obtain succours from some external quarter; and he solemnly warned them of the danger of trusting to the mercy of the people. John, with his characteristic caution, only intimated the quarter from which this succour was to be sought. The chieftains of the Zealots were Eleazar, the son of Simon, the old crafty antagonist of Ananus, and Zacharias, the son of Phalec. They knew that they were designated for vengeance by the party of Ananus; their only hope was in driving their own party to desperation. The mention of negotiations, according to Josephus, the malicious invention of John, inflamed the whole party of the Zealots to madness. A despatch was instantly sent to call the Idumeans to their assistance, by messengers, who were noted for their swiftness of foot and promptitude of action.

The Idumeans, who, since the conquest of Hyrcanus, had been incorporated with the Jews as a people, were a fierce and intractable tribe; some of the old Arab blood seemed to flow in their veins;

they loved adventure, and thronged to war as to a festivity. No sooner was the welcome invitation of the Zealots made known through the country, than they flew to arms, and even before the appointed day, had assembled an immense force, proclaiming as they went, that they were marching to the relief of the metropolis. They were 20,000 in number, under John and James the sons of Susa, Simon, son of Cathla, and Phineas, son of Clusoth. The messengers of the Zealots had escaped the vigilance of Ananus; and the vast army came suddenly, though not quite unexpectedly, before the walls. The gates were closed, and Ananus determined to attempt expostulation and remonstrance with these formidable invaders. Jesus, the next in age of the Chief-priests to Ananus, addressed them from a lofty tower on the wall. He endeavoured to persuade them to follow one of three lines of conduct—either to unite with them in the chastisement of these notorious robbers and assassins; or to enter the city, unarmed, and arbitrate between the conflicting parties; or, finally, to depart and leave the capital to settle its own affairs. Simon, the son of Cathla, sternly answered, that they came to take the part of the true patriots and defenders of their country, against men who were in a base conspiracy to sell the liberties of the land to the Romans. This charge the party of Ananus had always steadily disclaimed; with what sincerity it is impossible to decide.

At the words of the son of Cathla, the Idumeans joined in the loudest acclamations, and Jesus returned in sadness to his dispirited party, who now, instead of being the assailants, found themselves as it were besieged by two hostile armies. The Idumeans were not altogether at their ease. Though enraged at their exclusion from the city, they were disappointed at receiving no intelligence from the Zealots, who were closely cooped up in the temple,

and some began to repent of their hasty march. So they encamped, uncertain how to act, before the walls. The night came on, and with the night a tempest of unexampled violence, wind and pouring rain, frequent lightnings, and long rolling thunders. The very earth seemed to quake. All parties, in this dreadful state of suspense, sat trembling with the deepest awe, and construed the discord of the elements, either as a sign of future calamity, or as a manifestation of the instant wrath of the Almighty. The Idumeans saw the arm of heaven revealed to punish them for their assault on the Holy City; and thought that God had openly espoused the cause of Ananus. Mistaken interpreters of these ominous signs! which rather foreboded their own triumph, and the discomfiture of the Jewish people. Yet they locked their shields over their heads, and kept off the torrents of rain, as well as they could. But the Zealots, anxious about their fate, looked eagerly abroad to discover some opportunity of rendering assistance to their new friends. The more daring proposed, while the fury of the storm had thrown the enemy off their guard, to fight their way through the bands stationed in the cloisters of the outer court, and throw open the gates to the Idumeans. The more prudent thought it in vain to resort to violence, because the sentinels in the cloisters had been doubled, and the walls of the city would be strongly manned for fear of the invading army, and they expected Ananus every hour to go the round of the guards. That night alone, trusting perhaps to the number and strength of his doubled party, Ananus neglected that precaution. The darkness of the night was increased by the horrors of the tempest; some of the guard stole off to rest. The watchful Zealots perceived this, and taking the sacred saws, began to cut asunder the bars of the gates. In the wild din of the raging wind and pealing thunder, the noise of the saws was not heard.

A few stole out of the gate, and along the streets to the wall. There applying their saws to the gate which fronted the Idumean camp, they threw it open. The Idumeans at first drew back in terror, for they suspected some stratagem of Ananus; they grasped their swords, and stood awaiting the enemy whom they expected every instant to break forth. But when they recognised their friends, they entered boldly, and so much were they exasperated, that if they had turned towards the city they might have massacred the whole people. But their guides earnestly besought them first to deliver their beleaguered companions. Not only did gratitude, but prudence likewise, advise this course; for if the armed guard in the porticoes were surprised, the city would speedily fall, if it remained entire, the citizens would rally round that centre, speedily collect an insuperable force, and cut off their ascent to the temple. They marched rapidly through the city, and mounted the hill of Moriah. The Zealots were on the watch for their arrival, and as they attacked the guard in front, fell upon them from behind. Some were slain in their sleep: others awaking at the din, rushed together, and endeavoured to make head against the Zealots, but when they found that they were attacked likewise from without, they perceived at once that the Idumeans were within the city. Their spirits sank, they threw down their arms, and uttered wild shrieks of distress. A few bolder youths confronted the Idumeans and covered the escape of some of the older men, who ran shrieking down the streets, announcing the dreadful calamity. They were answered by screams and cries from the houses, and the shrill wailing of the women. On their side the Zealots and Idumeans shouted, and the wind howled over all, and the black and flashing sky pealed its awful thunders. The Idumeans spared not a soul of the guard whom they sur-



prised, being naturally men of bloody character, and exasperated by having been left without the gates exposed to the furious pelting of the storm; those who supplicated and those who fought, suffered the same fate: it was in vain to appeal to the sanctity of the temple, even within its precincts they were hewn down; some were driven to the very edge of the rock on which the temple stood, and in their desperation precipitated themselves headlong into the city. The whole Court was deluged with human blood, and when day dawned 8500 bodies were counted. But the carnage ended not with the night. The Idumeans broke into the city, and pillaged on all sides. The High Priests, Ananus, and Jesus the son of Gamala, were seized, put to death, and—an unprecedented barbarity among a people so superstitious about the rites of sepulture, that even public malefactors were buried before sunset—the bodies of these aged and respected men, who had so lately appeared in the splendid sacred vestments of the priests, were cast forth naked to the dogs and carrion birds.

With the death of Ananus all hopes of peace were extinguished, and from that night Josephus dates the ruin of Jerusalem. The historian gives him a high character; he was a man of rigid justice, who always preferred the public good to his own interest, and a strenuous lover of liberty, of popular address, and of great influence over all the lower orders. Though vigilant and active in placing the city in the best posture of defence, yet he always looked forward, in eager hope, to a peaceable termination of the contest. In this respect perhaps he followed the wisest policy, considering the state of his country, and the strength of the enemy; yet we cannot wonder, that a man with such views, at such a crisis, should be vehemently suspected of traitorous intentions by the more rash and zealous of his countrymen, who preferred death and ruin rather

than submission to the tyrannous yoke of Rome. Jesus, the son of Gamala, was likewise a man of weight and character.

The vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was not glutted by the blood of their principal enemies. They continued to massacre the people, in the words of Josephus, like a herd of unclean animals. The lower orders they cut down wherever they met them, those of higher rank, particularly the youth, were dragged to prison, that they might force them, by the fear of death, to embrace their party. No one complied; all preferred death to an alliance with such wicked conspirators. They were scourged, and tortured, but still resolutely endured, and at length were relieved from their trials by the more-merciful sword of the murderer. They were seized by day, and all the night these horrors went on; at length their bodies were cast out into the streets, to make room for more victims in the crowded prisons. Such was the terror of the people, that they neither dared to lament, nor bury their miserable kindred; but retired into the farthest part of their houses to weep, for fear the enemy should detect their sorrow; for to deplore the dead, was to deserve death; by night they scraped up a little dust with their hands, and strowed it over the bodies; none but the most courageous would venture to do this by day. Thus perished 12,000 of the noblest blood in Jerusalem.

Ashamed at length, or weary of this promiscuous massacre, the Zealots began to affect the forms of law, and set up tribunals of justice. There was a distinguished man, named Zacharias, the son of Baruch, whose influence they dreaded, and whose wealth they yearned to pillage, for he was both upright, patriotic, and rich. They assembled, by proclamation, seventy of the principal men of the populace, and formed a Sanhedrin. Before that court they charged Zacharias with intelligence

with the Romans. They had neither proof nor witness, but insisted on their own conviction of his guilt. Zacharias, despairing of his life, conducted himself with unexampled boldness; he stood up, ridiculed their charges, and in a few words clearly established his own innocence. He then turned to the accusers, inveighed with the most solemn fervour against their iniquities, and lamented the wretched state of public affairs. The Zealots murmured, and some were ready to use their swords but they were desirous of seeing whether the judges were sufficiently subservient to their will. The seventy unanimously acquitted the prisoner, and preferred to die with Zacharias rather than be guilty of his condemnation. The furious Zealots raised a cry of indignation; two of them rushed forward, and struck him dead, where he stood, in the temple court, shouting aloud, "This is our verdict—This is our more summary acquittal." Then dragging the body along the pavement, they threw it into the valley below. The judges they beat with the flat blades of their swords, and drove them, in disgrace, back into the city. At length, the Idumeans began to repent of this bloody work; they openly declared that they had advanced to Jerusalem to suppress the treason of the leaders, and to defend the city against the Romans; that they had been deceived into becoming accomplices in horrible murders; no treason was really apprehended, and the Roman army still suspended their attack. They determined to depart; first, however, they opened the prisons, and released 2000 of the people, who instantly fled to Simon the son of Gioras, of whom we shall hereafter hear too much. Their departure was unexpected by both parties. The populace, relieved from their presence, began to gain confidence; but the Zealots, as if released from control, rather than deprived of assistance, continued their lawless iniquities. Every day new victims fell by rapid and

summary proceedings ; it seemed as if they thought their safety depended on the total extermination of the higher orders. Among the rest perished Gorion, a man of the highest birth and rank, and the greatest zeal for liberty—incautious language caused his ruin. Even Niger of Peræa, their most distinguished soldier, who had escaped from the rout at Ascalon, was dragged along the streets, showing in vain the scars which he had received for his ungrateful country. He died with fearful imprecations, summoning the Romans to avenge his death, and denouncing famine and pestilence, and civil massacre, as well as war, against this accursed city—Niger was the last whose power they dreaded. After that they carried on their sanguinary work without scruple : none could escape. He who paid them no court, was stigmatized as haughty ; he who spoke boldly, as one who despised them ; he who merely flattered them, as a traitor ; they had but one punishment for great or small offences—death ; none but the very meanest in rank and fortune escaped their hands.\*

In this state of the city, many of the Roman leaders strongly urged Vespasian to march immediately on Jerusalem, and put an end to the rebellion. The more politic general replied, that nothing would extinguish these feuds, which were wasting the strength of the rebels, or unite their forces, but an attack from the Romans ; he determined to allow them, like wild beasts, to tear each other to pieces in their dens. Every day deserters came in ; not but that the roads were closely guarded, yet those who had the power to bribe largely, and those alone, were sure to find their way ; yet some, such was the attachment to the very soil of Jerusalem, after they had got off, returned of their own accord, only

\* Thus writes Josephus—perhaps rather with the vehemence of an orator, than with the cautious accuracy of an historian.

in hopes that they might find burial in the Holy City. Hopes too often baffled; for, so hardened were all hearts become, that even the reverence for that sacred rite was extinct. Both within the city, and in the villages, lay heaps of bodies rotting in the sun. To bury a relative, was death; thus compassion itself was proscribed and eradicated from the heart. Such was the state of the people, that the survivors envied the dead as released from suffering; those who were tormented in prisons even thought them happy whose bodies were lying unburied in the streets. Religion seemed utterly abolished: the law was scorned, the oracles of the prophets were treated with ridicule, as the tricks of impostors. "Yet by these men," says Josephus, "the ancient prediction seemed rapidly drawing to its fulfilment; that when civil war should break out in the city, and the temple be profaned by the hands of native Jews, the city would be taken, and the temple burned with fire."

During all this horror and confusion, John of Gischala steadily pursued his path of ambition: from the most desperate of these desperate men, he attached a considerable party to his own person: and, though suspected by all as aiming at kingly power, and watched with jealous vigilance, yet such was his craft and promptitude, that he imperceptibly centred all real authority and influence in his single person. In the public councils, he contradicted every one, and delivered his own sentiments with a sort of irresistible imperiousness. Some were cajoled by his subtlety, others awed by his decision, till at length his adherents almost threw off the mask, and formed, as it were, a body-guard around their leader. Thus the Zealots were divided; in one part John ruled like a king; in the other a kind of democratical equality prevailed. Yet the factions only watched each other, and contending but in occasional skirmishes, combined readily for the per-

secution of the people, and vied with each other in the quantity of plunder they could extort.

Thus the miserable city was afflicted by the three great evils, war, tyranny, and sedition; a fourth was soon added to complete their ruin. The Sicarii or Assassins, it may be remembered, had seized the strong fortress of Masada, near the Dead Sea. They had hitherto been content to subsist on the adjacent country. Encouraged by the success of the daring robbers who had thus become masters of Jerusalem, they surprised Engaddi during the night of the Passover, dispersed all who resisted, and slew about 700, chiefly women and children. They brought away great quantities of corn, and followed up the blow by wasting the whole region. Other bands collected in other parts, and the province became a scene of plunder and confusion.

It was now the spring—the commencement of a new campaign. The refugees in the camp of Vespasian earnestly besought him to march at once upon the capital, but the wary Roman chose rather to reduce the rest of the country. The first place against which he moved was Gadara, the chief city of Peræa. The more wealthy inhabitants sent a deputation to Vespasian. The opposite party, surprised by the rapid advance of the Romans, after revenging themselves on some of those who had treated for surrender, withdrew, and Gadara received the conqueror with open gates, and with joyful acclamations. Vespasian granted the inhabitants a garrison for their protection, for they had destroyed their walls of their own accord.

Vespasian having despatched Placidus with 500 horse and 3000 foot, to pursue the fugitives from Gadara, returned to Cæsarea. They had taken possession of a large village named Bethanabris, which they armed in their defence. Placidus attacked them, and employing his usual stratagem, a feigned retreat, to allure them from their walls,

then faced round, and cut off the greater part. Some forced their way back, and Placidus had well nigh entered the village with them. Before night it was taken and laid waste with the usual carnage. Those who escaped, raised the country as they passed, and, grown again to a considerable body, fled towards Jericho, the populous and strongly fortified city, on the other side of the river. Placidus pursued them to the Jordan, the river was swollen and impassable. They were obliged to turn and fight. It must have been near the place where the waters, of old, receded at the word of Joshua, but now the deep and rapid flood rolled down in unchecked impetuosity. The Romans charged with their accustomed vigour. Multitudes fell, multitudes were driven into the stream, others plunged in of their own accord. Not only the river, but the Dead Sea also, was almost choked with bodies, which lay floating upon its dark and heavy waters. 15,000 were killed, 2500 taken prisoners, with an immense booty from all that pastoral region, asses, sheep, camels, and oxen. Placidus followed up his victory, reduced the whole country of Peræa, and the coast of the Dead Sea as far as Machærus.

In the mean time the state of the Roman empire began to call the attention of Vespasian. Vindex had revolted in Gaul, and Vespasian was anxious to put an end to the war in Palestine, in order that his army might be at liberty for any further service. He advanced from Cæsarea, took successively Antipatris, Lydda, and Jamnia, and blockaded Emmaus, which made resistance. He then moved southward through the Toparchy of Bethleptepha, to the frontier of Idumæa, wasting as he went with fire and sword, and leaving garrisons in all the defensible castles. In Idumæa he took two large villages, Betharis and Cephartoba, put to the sword above 10,000 men, and brought away 1000 captives. Leaving there a strong force to waste the country,

he returned to Emmaus, passed by Samaria and Neapolis, encamped in Corea, and at length appeared before Jericho, where the troops which had subdued Peræa, met him. The insurgents of Jericho fled to the wilderness of Judæa, which lay to the south along the shores of the Dead Sea. The city was deserted, and the Roman soldiery reposed among the delicious gardens and palm groves in the neighbourhood, before they encountered the dreary and mountainous wilderness which lay between them and Jerusalem.

Vespasian sent to reduce all the neighbouring country. Lucius Annius was detached against Gerasa, where 1000 of the youth were put to the sword, the rest made captives, and the city pillaged by the soldiery. And now Jerusalem already beheld the enemy at her gates, every approach to the city was cut off, and every hour they expected to see the plain to the north glitter with the arms and eagles of the fated enemy. When suddenly intelligence came from Rome which checked the march of Vespasian, and Jerusalem had yet a long period either to repent and submit, or to prepare for a more orderly and vigorous resistance. The first event was the death of Nero, and during the whole of the year 68-9, in which Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, successively attained and lost the imperial crown, Vespasian held his troops together, without weakening, by unnecessary exertions against the enemy, that force by which he might eventually win his way to the sovereignty of the world.

But Jerusalem would not profit by the mercy of the Almighty in thus suspending for nearly two years the march of the avenger: an enemy more fatal than the Roman, immediately rose up to complete the sum of her misery, and to add a third party to those which already distracted her peace. Simon, son of Gioras, a native of Gerasa, was a man as fierce and cruel, though not equal in subtlety to



John of Gischala. He had greatly distinguished himself in the rout of Cestius. Since that time, it has been seen that he pillaged Acrabatene, and being expelled from that region by Ananus, entered Masada, where by degrees he became master of the town. His forces increased; he had wasted all the country towards Idumæa, and at length began to entertain designs against Jerusalem. The Zealots marched out in considerable force against him, but were discomfited and driven back to the city. Simon, instead of attacking Jerusalem, turned back and entered Idumæa at the head of 20,000 men. The Idumeans suddenly raised 25,000, and after a long and doubtful battle Simon retreated to a village called Nain, the Idumeans to their own country. Simon a second time raised a great force and entered their border. He encamped before Tekoa, and sent one of his adherents named Eleazar to persuade the garrison of Herodium, at no great distance, to surrender. The indignant garrison drew their swords upon him; he leaped from the wall and was killed. On the other hand the Idumeans, betrayed by one of their leaders, were struck with a panic and dispersed. Simon entered the country, took Hebron, and wasted the whole region. His army consisted of 40,000 men, besides his heavy-armed troops. They passed over the whole district like a swarm of locusts, burning, destroying, and leaving no sign of life or vegetation behind them.

The Zealots in the mean time surprised the wife of Simon, and carried her off in triumph to Jerusalem. They hoped that by this means they should force Simon to terms. Simon came raging like a wild beast before the walls of Jerusalem. The old and unarmed people who ventured out of the gates were seized and tortured. He is said scarcely to have refrained from mangling their bodies with his teeth. Some he sent back with both hands cut off, vowing that unless his wife were returned, he would

force the city and treat every man within the walls in the same manner. The people and even the Zealots themselves took the alarm, they restored his wife and he withdrew. It was now the spring of the second year 69, and Vespasian once more set his troops in motion. He reduced the Toparchies of Gophnitis and Acrabatene. His cavalry appeared at the gates of Jerusalem. Cerealis in the mean time had entered Idumæa, and taken Caphethra, Capharabis, and Hebron, nothing remained to conquer but Herodium, Masada, Machærus, and Jerusalem itself.

Still no attempt was made on Jerusalem, it was left to its domestic enemies. Simon had remained in Masada, while Cerealis wasted Idumæa. He then broke forth again, entered Idumæa, drove a vast number of that people to Jerusalem, and again encamped before the walls, putting to the sword all the unfortunate stragglers who quitted the protection of the city.

Simon thus warred on the unhappy city from without, and John of Gischala within. The pillage and license of the opulent capital had totally corrupted his hardy Galileans, who had been allowed to commit every excess. Pillage was their occupation, murder and rape their pastime. They had become luxurious and effeminate; they had all the cruelty of men with the wantonness of the most abandoned women. Glutted with plunder and blood, and the violation of women, they decked their hair, put on female apparel, painted their eyes, and in this emasculate garb wandered about the city, indulging in the most horrible impurities, yet, on an instant, reassuming their character of dauntless ruffians, drawing their swords, which were concealed under their splendid clothes, and fighting fiercely or stabbing all they met without mercy. Thus was the city besieged within and without, those who stayed

were tyrannized over by John, those who fled, massacred by Simon.

At length the party of John divided. The Idumeans, who were still in considerable numbers in Jerusalem, grew jealous of his power; they rose and drove the Zealots into a palace built by Grapte, a relation of King Izates. This they entered with them, and thence forced them into the temple. This palace was the great treasure house of John's plunder, and was now in turn pillaged by the Idumeans. But the Zealots assembled in overwhelming force in the temple, and threatened to pour down upon the Idumeans and the people. The Idumeans did not dread their bravery so much as their desperation, lest they should sally, and set the whole city on fire over their heads. They called an assembly of the chief priests, and that counsel was adopted which added the final consummation to the miseries of the city. "God," says Josephus, "overruled their wills to that most fatal measure." They agreed to admit Simon within the gates. The High-priest, Matthias, a weak, but from his rank, an influential man, supported this new proposition; he was sent in person to invite him within the walls, and amid the joyful greetings of the misguided populace, the son of Gioras marched through the streets, and took possession of all the upper city.

Simon immediately proceeded to attack the Zealots in the temple, but the commanding situation of the building enabled them to defend themselves with success. They fought with missiles from the porticoes and pinnacles, and many of Simon's men fell. To obtain still further advantage from the height of their ground, they reared four strong towers, one on the north-east corner, one above the Xystus, one at another corner opposite the lower city, and one above the Pastophoria, where the priests were accustomed to sound the silver trumpet to announce the commencement and termination of

the sabbath. On these towers they placed their military engines, their bowmen and slingers, which swept the enemy down at a great distance; till at length Simon in some degree relaxed his assaults.

Vespasian had now assumed the purple; the East declared in his favour; Josephus received the honour and reward of a prophet, and was delivered from his bonds. After the defeat and death of Vitellius, the new Cæsar was acknowledged at Rome, and the whole empire hailed in joyful triumph the accession of the Flavian dynasty. At the commencement of the ensuing year, the emperor had time to think of the reduction of the rebellious city, which had long resisted his own arms. His son Titus was sent to complete the subjugation of Palestine by the conquest of the capital.

END OF VOL. II.





